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ABSTRACT

This eight-day unit is designed for use in social studies, language arts, and philosophy classes at secondary (7-12) and community college levels. After a general introduction to international conflict, students explore various modes of conflict resolution and conflict management. Students then consider in general terms the reasons for war and for the use of nonviolent means of conflict resolution and management. In order to examine in detail the causes and consequences of war and nonviolent conflict resolution/management methods, students analyze the cases of the Falklands/Malvinas war, some aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East and the Camp David Accords, and some aspects of the British-Indian conflict in India and Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance. Students are asked to question why and when one method is chosen by conflict participants over other methods. Students also consider the positive and negative results of particular conflict resolution/management methods. Numerous handouts are employed. Five appendices provide: (1) a list of related activities; (2) connections to textbooks; (3) connections to California's Frameworks and Model Curriculum Standards; (4) a bibliography; and (5) a statement of educational philosophy. (DB)

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CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
Topic #2 in a Series
of International Security and Conflict Curricula
for Grades 7-12 and Junior College

Developed by Robin Riddle, Naomi Wise, and the
International Security and Arms Control (ISAAC) Project Staff,
Stanford Program on International and
Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

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The unit in its final form was conceptualized and written by ISAAC Project Coordinator Robin Riddle and project staff members Naomi Wise, Felicia Wong, George Tseo, and Lenore Schwan. Overall editorial assistance was provided by Ms. Riddle and overall production assistance was provided by the ISAAC Project staff.

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ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL PROJECT

The International Security and Arms Control (ISAAC) Project is a curriculum and staff development program aimed at improving the quality of elementary and secondary education about international conflict and security affairs. It is the first international issue-focused project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, complementing SPICE's four culture-based projects (Africa, China, Japan, and Latin America).

The International Security and Arms Control Project combines the technical expertise, research, and educational resources of the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control with the curriculum and staff development programs of the California International Studies Project (CISP). This combination of scholarly resources with large-scale systematic access to educators makes the ISAAC Project unique in the field.

The ISAAC Project works closely with a small group of teacher associates primarily from Northern California in developing, reviewing, testing, and evaluating curriculum materials appropriate for social studies (including history and psychology), literature, science, and economics classrooms. Strong emphasis is placed on balanced presentation, multiple perspectives, and critical thinking skills. In addition, all materials are being developed with teachers' time constraints and desire for flexibility in mind. The curricula reflect sensitivity to the problems of teaching controversial issues. The curriculum materials are produced in cooperation with Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control. (See Appendix E for further details about the curriculum development process.)

For further information regarding the curriculum and staff development activities of the International Security and Arms Control Project, contact the ISAAC Project Coordinator, 200 Lou Henry Hoover Bldg., Stanford, CA 94305-6012, 415/723-1114.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement i

Credits. iii

About the International Security and Arms Control Project. . .iv

Introduction 1

Rationale 1
Goals 2
Suggested Sequence of Activities. 2
Key Terms and Concepts. 4
Adaptation. 4

Introduction to Conflict, War, and Nonviolence: Lesson One

Lesson Plan 5
Handout #1: Falkland Island/Islas Malvinas Map 15
Handout #2: Argentina and the Falkland Islands/
Islas Malvinas War. 16
Reference #1: Great Britain and the
Falkland Islands War. 19

Case Study: Falklands/Malvinas War: Lesson Two

Lesson Plan 22
Overhead #1: Military Council Questions. 32
Overhead #2: Conflict Analysis 33
Handout #3: We Are All Falklanders Now 34
Handout #4: Study Questions for Handout #3 36
Handout #4 Answer Key: Study Questions 37
Handout #5: Fight or Negotiate?. 39
Handout #6: Study Questions for Handout #5 41
Handout #6 Answer Key: Study Questions 42
Handout #7: Outline Map of the Middle East 43
Handout #7 Answer Key 44
Handout #8: Middle East: The Jews and the Arabs 45

Case Study: Camp David Accords: Lesson Three

Lesson Plan 53
Handout #9A: Egyptian Negotiating Guidelines 63
Handout #9B: Israeli Negotiating Guidelines. 64
Handout #10: The Camp David Accords. 66

Case Study: Gandhi and Nonviolent Resistance: Lesson Four

Lesson Plan 68
Reference #2: Background on Gandhi and the
British-Indian Conflict 76
Handout #11: An Appeal for Nonviolent Resistance
by Mohandas K. Gandhi 81

Conclusion: Lesson Five

Lesson Plan 82

Appendix A: Related Activities. 86

Appendix B: Connections to Textbooks. 104

Appendix C: Connections to California's Frameworks and Model Curriculum Standards. 105

Appendix D: Bibliography. 109

Appendix E: Educational Philosophy 118

CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

INTRODUCTION

This eight-day unit is designed for use in social studies (including psychology and sociology), language arts, and philosophy classes at secondary (7-12) and junior college levels. After a general introduction to international conflict, students will explore various modes of conflict resolution and conflict management. Students then consider in general terms what the reasons for war and nonviolent means of conflict resolution and management are. In order to examine in detail the causes and consequences of war and nonviolent conflict resolution/management methods, students will analyze the cases of the Falklands/Malvinas war, some aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East and the Camp David Accords, and some aspects of the British-Indian conflict in India and Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance. Students are asked to question why and when one method is chosen by conflict participants over other methods. Students will also consider the positive and negative results of particular conflict resolution/management methods. While the case studies are used as the basis for further exploration of the many important topics in this curriculum unit, students are asked to consider whether, based upon the case studies, generalizations about conflict resolution/management methods can be made.

RATIONALE

Conflict is one of the most important concepts in present and future education. To ignore it as a social force worthy of recognition in an educational setting is an unrealistic view of how human destinies have been shaped. Conflict may be the most powerful force structuring the world today.

While conflict pervades our lives, it seems that few students realize that conflicts can have both positive and negative consequences and that there are many conflict resolution and management alternatives. Most social studies textbooks ignore conflict as a concept and, instead, focus on the chronological history and description of wars. This curriculum unit serves to fill that gap by introducing the concept of conflict in such a way that any event can be analyzed under the framework illustrated. In addition, after examining three distinct cases, students will recognize that both violent and nonviolent conflict resolution and management alternatives exist.

The ability to analyze any conflict is the student's foundation for a critical view of history and current events. The analytical techniques introduced in this curriculum unit help bring a wide range of conflicts into a more understandable

context. Questions about the characteristics and mechanisms of conflict resolution and management become practically relevant to students as they gain experience in identifying, analyzing, and understanding conflicts. Through the intelligent use of data and analysis, students can gain important insights into their worlds.

GOALS

In exploring the issues of choices in international conflict students will:

- o recognize that in any conflict situation a variety of alternative management/resolution methods exist
- o recognize that the geographic and historical contexts of a conflict are important to understanding the current situation
- o recognize that nations have reasons for choosing violent or nonviolent means to resolve or manage conflicts
- o distinguish between conflict resolution and conflict management
- o distinguish between violence and nonviolence
- o gain some tools to analyze international conflicts
- o recognize that history can be interpreted in a number of ways
- o recognize how complex many conflicts are
- o determine whether generalizations can be drawn about the preferability of one type of conflict resolution or management method over others

The objectives for this curriculum unit are listed at the beginning of each lesson plan.

SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES

Day #1: In class

Introduction to Conflict, War, and Nonviolence: Students are introduced to the concepts of conflict, conflict management, and conflict resolution. Students define war and nonviolence and discuss reasons for choosing war and nonviolence as methods of conflict management/resolution in the international system.

Day #1: Homework

Background Reading on the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas War: Students are introduced to the first case study by reading about Argentina's views of the Falklands/Malvinas War.

Day #2: In class

Argentine Military Council and Discussion on the Falklands/Malvinas War: Students role-play an Argentine military council to explore why Argentina chose to go to war with Great Britain. Students then interview the teacher to explore Great Britain's views of the crisis. Finally, students analyze the goals of Argentina and Britain, results of the war, and alternative conflict resolution/management methods.

Day #2: Homework

Editorials on the Falklands/Malvinas War: Students read one of two editorials on the war and answer study questions, in preparation for the next day's discussion.

Day #3: In Class

Discussion of Falklands/Malvinas Editorials and Introduction to the Middle East: Students discuss the editorials on the Falklands/Malvinas War, followed by the final discussion on that conflict. Then students work on a Middle East map activity as an introduction to the second case study on the Camp David Accords.

Day #3: Homework

Background Reading on the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Students read a handout on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict in preparation for the next day's lesson on the Camp David Accords.

Day #4: In Class

Discussion of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Students discuss possible sources of conflict between the Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. The Camp David Accords are highlighted as students discuss reasons why Egypt and Israel chose to negotiate. Then students prepare for a simulation of the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks for the next day's class.

Day #5: In Class

Peace Talks Simulation: Students role-play participants in the Camp David negotiations in small groups. Students then read about the details of the Camp David Accords. Students analyze the goals of Egypt and Israel, the results of the Accords, and alternative conflict resolution/management methods.

Day #6: In Class

Discussion of Camp David and Background on Gandhi: Following a concluding discussion on the Camp David Accords, students are introduced to the third case study on Gandhi and India's

nonviolent struggle for independence. Students gather information in the library about Gandhi and the British-Indian conflict to share with the class the following day.

Day #7: In Class

Gandhi and the British-Indian Conflict: Students share the information they have found on Gandhi and the British-Indian conflict. They then read a speech by Gandhi which promotes nonviolent resistance. Students analyze the goals of Great Britain and the Indians, results of the conflict, and alternative conflict resolution/management methods.

Day #8: In Class

Nonviolent Resistance and Bringing Together the Three Case Studies: Following a concluding discussion on nonviolent resistance, students participate in a discussion that ties the conceptual and practical aspects of the three case studies together.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The following key terms and concepts are boldfaced the first time they appear in the unit: actual policy, claim of right, compromise, conflict, conflict management, conflict resolution, goals, international, lose-lose, mediator, negotiations, nonviolence/nonviolent, nonviolent resistance, participants, passive resistance, result, satyagraha, stated policy, summit meeting, violence/violent, war, win-lose, and win-win. These terms and concepts are defined when they first appear.

ADAPTATION

Appendices A, B, C, D, and E will be useful to teachers who want to adapt (change or expand) this curriculum unit. Appendix A provides a list of related activities for social studies, philosophy, and language arts classrooms. Appendix B provides ideas for using this supplementary unit in conjunction with social studies textbooks, psychology and sociology textbooks, philosophy textbooks, and English/language arts materials. Appendix C demonstrates how this unit supports California's Frameworks and Model Curriculum Standards for History/Social Science and English/Language Arts. Appendix D provides a bibliography of related classroom and reference materials. Appendix E describes the educational philosophy of the International Security and Arms Control Project.

Each of the five lessons can be utilized separately in the classroom. In order to maintain the conceptual integrity of the unit, however, we encourage teachers to use the entire curriculum unit as a whole.

INTRODUCTION TO CONFLICT, WAR, AND NONVIOLENCE
Lesson One

Introduction

This lesson is a one-day introduction to conflict. Students will give examples of conflicts, and violent and nonviolent conflict resolution/management methods. Students will begin to discuss reasons for choosing war and nonviolence as methods of conflict management and conflict resolution in the international system.

Materials

- world map (not provided in this unit)
- one copy per student of Handout #1: Falklands/Malvinas Map (for introduction to Lesson Two)
- one copy per student of Handout #2: Argentina and the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas War (for introduction to Lesson Two)

Objectives

In this lesson, students will:

- o define conflict and give examples
- o distinguish between conflict management and conflict resolution
- o recognize that there are both violent and nonviolent methods of conflict management/resolution
- o recognize that in any conflict situation a variety of alternative management/resolution methods exist
- o distinguish between win-win, win-lose, and lose-lose outcomes
- o define violence and war, and give examples
- o discuss reasons nations and individuals choose war in particular international conflict situations
- o define nonviolence and give examples
- o discuss reasons nations and individuals choose nonviolence in particular international conflict situations

Procedures: Day 1

Context-Setting: 15 minutes

1. Begin this unit by announcing to students that for the next several days they are going to be discussing conflict, war,

and nonviolence. Ask students for examples of conflict. These examples can come from current events, the classroom, the home, or students' everyday experiences. Write these examples on the chalkboard.

In order for the students to begin thinking about a definition of "conflict," ask students if they can determine whether there are any commonalities present in the examples they've given. Then ask students to define conflict.

Tell students that all conflicts have a participant or participants, and that each of these participants has goals. These goals concern values, interests, or resources. In general terms, a conflict occurs if the participants' values cannot exist simultaneously, if their interests cannot be realized simultaneously, or if the resources are scarce so that both participants cannot have them simultaneously.

Note: If you believe your students need a deeper introduction to conflict, refer to **The Anatomy of Conflict** published by the International Security and Arms Control Project.

2. Return to the students' examples of conflicts. Tell students that in this curriculum unit they will be examining **international** conflicts (conflicts occurring between two or more nations). Point out that other levels of conflict exist (intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, and global). Ask students which of the examples are international conflicts.

3. In order to get students to recognize that conflicts can be resolved and managed in a variety of ways, ask students how the conflicts they've already mentioned can be handled or dealt with by people and nations. (Possible responses include: negotiate; boycott; strike; protest; war; ignore; threaten violence; litigation; arbitration; compete.)

   Write students' answers on the chalkboard. Be sure to elicit both examples of violent and nonviolent conflict resolution and management. Also, try to get students to describe some of the characteristics of each method discussed.

   Note: In this curriculum unit, "possible responses" are provided to give teachers some ideas about the ways in which discussions can progress and questions can be answered. The lists of responses are not meant to be exhaustive.

4. In order to extend the discussion of students' examples further, introduce these two key terms:

a. A participant using a method of **conflict management** does not want to end the conflict, but also does not want the conflict to escalate.

b. A participant using a method of **conflict resolution** wants to end the conflict so that it no longer exists.

Note: Other definitions exist for these terms. For the sake of simplicity, this unit uses only the above two definitions.

Have students consider the examples of conflict they've already provided and other conflicts they can think of to answer this question: which conflicts have been resolved and which have been managed?

5. Return to the methods of conflict resolution and management already described by students. Ask students to distinguish between methods which are **violent** and methods which are **nonviolent**. Is there agreement? Ask students why agreement on such categorization may be difficult. (Possible responses include: need to examine a specific case; conflicting definitions of violence or nonviolence; definitions of violence or nonviolence may have different emphases on physical, economic, spiritual, structural, political, or social aspects.)

   Are there some methods which do not seem to fall into either category? (Possible responses include: - doing nothing; ignoring the conflict.)

6. Tell students that a **result** (outcome) is one of the elements of conflict. The results can often be described as falling into one of the following broad categories:

   - A **win-win** outcome is one in which both participants appear to "win," or achieve their primary goals.

   - A **win-lose** outcome is one in which only one participant appears to "win," or achieve its primary goals.

   - A **lose-lose** outcome is one in which neither participant achieves its primary goals.

   Note: The above definitions refer to each participant's primary objectives. Another way of defining these terms is not concerned with whether participants achieve their primary goals, but rather with whether participants leave the conflict with a feeling of positive change, in themselves and/or in their mutual relationship. According to this less strict definition, it is possible that participants do not achieve their primary goals but still "win."

Ask students to apply the concept of results to the international conflicts they have already discussed above. Are there violent methods of conflict resolution/management which fall into each of these broad categories of results? Are there nonviolent methods which fall into each of these broad categories? Ask students for examples.

7. Explain that this unit will focus on the choice between violence and nonviolence as means of international conflict resolution/management and will compare the results of the methods chosen in three case studies.

   Note: In this unit violence and nonviolence are collectively referred to as methods of conflict resolution and management. This procedure is not intended to bias the discussion of conflict resolution and management, but rather is a reflection of our desire to simplify the complex language in this field. We recognize that some people believe that violence cannot resolve a conflict. This issue will be discussed at various points in this curriculum unit.

Describing War: 15 minutes

1. Return to the examples of conflict resolution/management methods that some or all students identified as violent. Ask students if there are commonalities to these methods -- that is, how do they know that the methods are violent? Have students define **violence**. (Students may reach a consensus definition or may choose to stand by their own, different definitions.)

   Consider the physical, social, structural, economic, political, and spiritual aspects of violence. Are some of these aspects more important in defining violence than others? Are some aspects irrelevant?

2. Students will certainly have listed war as a violent means of conflict resolution/management. If students have not already provided several examples of wars, ask them to do so. Again, ask students if there are commonalities to all wars. Have students define **war**. (Possible definitions include: (1) the mobilization of group against group for the purpose of killing which gains a momentum of its own that leads both sides to unplanned savagery; (2) the legal situation which permits two or more hostile parties to engage in armed conflict; (3) people killing people; and (4) normal peacetime relations stop.)

   For the purposes of this unit, war is defined as armed conflict or physical violence used at the international level. Return to the examples of wars students have already

given. Using these examples and others, ask students the following questions related to this definition:

- What armed conflicts labeled "wars" fit this broad definition? (Possible responses include: World War I, World War II, the Seven Years' War, the Spanish-American War, the Korean War).

  What armed conflicts commonly labeled "wars" do not fit this definition? (Possible responses include: any civil war such as the American Civil War.)

- What are the characteristics of war? (Possible responses include: people killing others; destruction of buildings and cities; land is captured; acts of violence organized and supported by the state.)

- How long must a conflict last to consider it a war? What is the difference between a war and a battle? (Responses will vary.)

- In what other conflict situations is the word "war" used to describe the conflict when in fact no physical violence occurs between the main participants? (Possible responses include: trade war, emotional war, Cold War.)

3. Discuss the idea that the violence of war is in at least one way different from violence under other circumstances: violent acts against the enemy are often excused and even praised during times of war; these same acts would normally be condemned in peacetime. One reason for this is that each nation makes a **claim of right** during a war. This claim of right is the nation's justification or reason for going to war. A nation's claim of right might be its need to protect its people or territory.

   Return to the examples of wars that have already been raised by the class. Ask students what claims of right they have heard applied to these and other wars. (Possible responses include: to conquer evil leaders; to seek revenge; to secure national boundaries; to help allies; to prevent the spread of capitalism or communism; to overthrow unjust governments; to maintain freedom of the seas; to secure rights or freedom; to survive; to protect a nation from an enemy that is intent upon destroying the nation; to avoid bloodshed.)

   Inform students that this question will be discussed again later in this curriculum unit.

4. It is important to distinguish between a government's **stated policy** and **actual policy**. In some cases these may be different and in some cases they may be the same. A nation's

claim of right is its stated policy. Ask students for some unstated reasons a government might have for choosing to go to war. (Some perspectives include: business will profit from the war; a nation wants to erase past humiliation; racism; belief that the war will be the last one needed to preserve international peace; a nation wants to maintain a favorable military, economic, or political situation; fear; belief that there are no other alternatives; incompatible ideologies; the leaders of a country believe the nation's goals can only be met through war or that the goals will be reached more quickly; a nation's leaders believe that a war can completely eliminate an enemy; a nation's leaders believe that by going to war the strength and resolve of their nation will be proven.) Why might a government not publicly state these reasons for war?

Note: In this curriculum unit, "some perspectives" are provided to give teachers information about a controversial issue. The perspectives represent some viewpoints given by scholars, politicians, citizens, and others on the questions asked. The lists provided are not mean to be exhaustive. We encourage teachers to explore with students as many perspectives as possible.

5. Ask students for reasons for going to war that might be offered by those outside the government, such as citizen groups, scholars, and foreigners. Some reasons may overlap with those discussed above while others may be new to the discussion. (Some perspectives include: arms competition; power imbalance; conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots"; natural aggression or human fascination with violence; inability of nations to tolerate each others' values; relief from boredom; weapons beyond control of people who make decisions; racism; militarism; nationalism; miscalculation of the enemy's intentions; insecurity.)

   Inform students that this question will be raised again later in this curriculum unit.

6. Ask students the following open-ended questions about the causes of war:

   - Are some reasons for war better than others? If so, which ones? Students should be clear about their bases for judgment; that is, students should clarify to what criteria "better" can refer to.

   - Political theorist Kenneth Waltz argues that "to explain how peace can be more readily achieved requires an understanding of the causes of war." (Man, the State, and War, p. 2.) Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?

- Are wars inevitable?

- Agree or disagree with this proposition: "War is necessary for human progress."

- What makes the use of violence popular or unpopular?

- Does the user of violence (that is, the nation going to war) always achieve a negative, or "lose," outcome?

Inform students that these questions will be discussed again later in this curriculum unit.

Describing Nonviolence: 15 minutes

1. Return to the examples students gave of nonviolent methods of conflict resolution and management. Ask students if there are any commonalities in these methods. Have students define **nonviolence**. (Students may reach a consensus definition or may choose to stand by their own, different definitions.)

   Ask students the following open-ended questions:

   - Consider the physical, social, structural, economic, political, and spiritual aspects of nonviolence. Are some of these aspects more important in defining nonviolence than others? Are some aspects irrelevant?

   - Is nonviolence the opposite of violence? Is nonviolent the same as peaceful?

   - Can the spoken threat to use violence be considered nonviolent?

   Inform students that these questions will be discussed again later in this curriculum unit.

2. What reasons are given by nations and individuals for choosing nonviolence over violence at the international level? In other words, what is the nation's claim of right for using nonviolence? The following are some possible responses:

   a. Morality: Violence may be against a society's code of ethical behavior.

   b. Religion: Violence may be against the teachings of predominant national religions.

   c. Economics: Violence can include the costs of maintaining standing armies and of building complex weaponry, which diverts resources and labor power from other jobs. These

costs may be too great for a society which prefers to invest its wealth elsewhere.

d. Human loss: A society may feel that human lives are too valuable to be lost to violent conflict.

e. Win-win result: A nonviolent method of resolving a conflict may be more likely to result in a situation in which both participants win, while violence can lead to human casualties and, therefore, a win-lose or a lose-lose outcome.

f. Outside pressure: Other nations in the international community or other groups in society may pressure participants, both economically and diplomatically, to choose nonviolent methods of conflict resolution/ management.

g. Fear: Especially in international conflicts, where violence can lead to great destruction, participants may choose nonviolence out of fear of the consequences of violence.

Inform students that these questions will be discussed again later in this curriculum unit.

3. It is important to distinguish between a government's stated policy and actual policy. In some cases these may be different and in some cases they may be the same. Ask students for some unstated reasons that a government might have for choosing to use nonviolence. (Some perspectives include: a nation's government doesn't believe that it could win fighting a war; fear of domestic opposition or instability that often arises when a nation engages in war with another nation; to manipulate international public opinion or to gain international sympathy.) Why might a government not publicly state these reasons for choosing nonviolence?

4. To conclude the discussion of nonviolence, ask students the following open-ended questions:

   - Are some reasons for nonviolence better than others? If so, which ones? Students should be clear about their bases for judgment; that is, students should clarify to what criteria "better" could refer.

   - Does the use of nonviolence generally require creativity on the part of the user?

   - What makes the use of nonviolence popular or unpopular?

- Are some conflict situations easier to use nonviolence in than others?

- Does the user of nonviolence always achieve a positive, or "win," outcome?

Inform students that these questions will be raised again later in this curriculum unit.

Background to the Falklands/Malvinas War: 5 minutes

1. Inform students that they will begin their case studies of violence and nonviolence by examining the Falkland Islands/ Islas Malvinas War as a case study of war as a method of conflict management/resolution in the international system.

   Note: Since the islands are referred to as the "Falkland Islands" by the British and "Islas Malvinas" by the Argentines, we use both names throughout most of this unit.

2. Give each student a copy of Handout #1: Falklands/Malvinas Map. Illustrate the following points using a world map and the map of the Falklands/Malvinas which has been distributed to the class:

   - Show students the relative size and location of Britain, Argentina, and the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas. Point out that the islands lie about 250 miles off the coast of Argentina and about 8,000 miles from Great Britain.

   - The Falklands/Malvinas are composed of two main islands-- East and West Falkland -- and 200 smaller ones, which total 4,700 square miles. The capital is Port Stanley.

   - South Georgia is a sparsely populated island belonging to the Falklands/Malvinas territory. Have students locate South Georgia on their maps. Note that South Georgia is about 1,500 miles from the Falklands/Malvinas.

   - Point out the proximity of the Falklands/Malvinas to Antarctica. The islands are about 1,500 miles from the Antarctic Circle.

Homework:

1. Distribute Handout #2: Argentina and the Falkland Islands/ Islas Malvinas War. Inform students that they should read the handout, which provides background information about the Falklands/Malvinas War, in preparation for the next day's lesson. Tell students that they will be role-playing an Argentine military council, so they should pay particular attention to the reasons why Argentina chose to go to war.

While reading, students should highlight important points and make notes in the margins of the handout.

Point out to students that Handout #2 focuses on Argentina's views of the conflict. In some cases, in order to illustrate Argentina's views, Great Britain's views are also presented. Students will learn more about Great Britain's views during the military council role-play.

Note: For the next day's lesson in which the teacher role-plays an Argentine military advisor, teachers should read Reference #1 which provides background information about Great Britain and Great Britain's views of the Falklands/ Malvinas conflict.

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HANDOUT #2

ARGENTINA AND THE FALKLAND ISLANDS/ISLAS MALVINAS WAR

Historical Context

Las Islas Malvinas -- known as the Falkland Islands by the British -- are located in the Atlantic Ocean off the tip of South America. The area is characterized by bitter cold, high and choppy seas, and barren landscapes. The Falklands/Malvinas are populated by less than 2,000 people. Also inhabiting the islands are over 600,000 sheep and 10 million penguins. Half of the land and all the sheep are owned by the Falkland Islands Company which was started by the British. Sheep raising is the main occupation of the residents, most of whom are of British descent and live on the two largest islands of East and West Falkland.

Britain and Argentina have quarreled over the Falklands/Malvinas for over 150 years. Spain and Argentina maintain that the islands were discovered in 1520 by the Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan. The British argue that the islands were discovered in 1592 by an English explorer. The first settlement on the islands was founded by a Frenchman in 1764 and two years later a British settlement was established. By the early 1810s the French and British had left their settlements. Then Argentina claimed the islands in 1820 after gaining independence from Spain. After Argentina established a settlement on the islands in 1826, Britain protested Argentina's claim of sovereignty. In 1833, British forces landed on the Falklands/Malvinas, evicted the Argentine authorities, and claimed rule of the islands. Since then, Britain's settlement has been continuous and Argentina has repeatedly asserted its claims to the territory.

Britain asserts its rights to the islands on the basis of discovery and of settlement. Since 1833 the overwhelming majority of the residents of the islands have been of British descent. The Argentine government argues that the British community of the Falklands/Malvinas is not a regular settlement because one private company controls the islands' main industry and the Islanders are merely company employees leasing the land they use. As employees of colonial companies the Islanders have no right to self-determination, Argentina argues. An additional Argentine argument is the only reason the inhabitants of the islands are British is because Britain has restricted immigration. Argentines also maintain that the islands are rightfully theirs since Argentina is closer to the islands than

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any other country. Finally, Argentina argues that its sovereignty over the islands is recognized by a great majority of the countries of the world.

Negotiations

From 1966 to 1982 Argentina and Britain held bilateral negotiations on a peaceful solution to the Falklands/Malvinas problem. The two nations had conflicting interests on many points. First, it was believed that sovereignty over the islands might reinforce claims to the Antarctic. Britain and Argentina have overlapping claims to territory in the Antarctic which has vast reserves of mineral resources. Second, surveys showed that there might be oil around the islands, although none had yet been found in any great quantity. Further, control of the South Atlantic's abundant fishing resources was thought to depend to some extent upon control of the islands. Argentine attempts to negotiate with the British were unsuccessful in producing a peaceful resolution to the dispute. An agreement was blocked, in part, by the residents of the islands who wished to remain British.

South Georgia Incident

On March 19, 1982, a group of 60 Argentine scrap-metal contractors landed on South Georgia, a sparsely populated island belonging to the Falklands/Malvinas territory, and raised the Argentine flag. British authorities warned the Argentine workers that their presence was illegal and told them to leave or request official permission to stay. Although some of the workers left the island, a group remained. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher strongly protested and sent a British military ship to South Georgia. Argentina accused the British government of responding in a disproportionately bold and provoking manner. By the end of March, tensions between Britain and Argentina had increased. Argentine ships were known to be sailing toward the Falklands/Malvinas and British authorities feared an invasion was about to occur.

The War

On April 2, Argentine troops occupied the Falklands/Malvinas and combat began. Although the British had a far larger total military force and more modern equipment, the Argentines enjoyed a major geographic advantage because the Falklands/Malvinas were in their backyard, while the islands were 8,000 miles from Britain. On April 5, British ships sailed for the Falklands/Malvinas, carrying over 5,000 troops. Britain declared that beginning April 12, its ships would blockade the seas within 200

miles of the Falklands/Malvinas. British officials theatened to sink any Argentine vessel spotted inside that zone.

Prior to the war, U.S. President Ronald Reagan's administration had supported General Leopoldo Galtieri, Argentina's leader. Galtieri may have speculated that the U.S. would aid Argentina in a time of need. However, the U.S. government repeatedly warned Argentina that in the event of armed hostilities, it would support the British. During the war, the U.S. provided Britain with satellite pictures of Argentine ship and troop positions while the Argentines received satellite information from the Soviet Union. The U.S. also provided Britain with military equipment.

The war was over relatively quickly. On June 14, after British troops had invaded the Falklands'/Malvinas' capital, Port Stanley, the Argentine military surrendered to the British.

<u>After the War</u>

The incompetence of the Argentine army during the war, the high cost of the war in both money and lives, and the feeling that the U.S. was no longer a reliable ally, added to the depressed national mood in Argentina. The defeat resulted in public opposition to the existing Argentine military government, and this opposition put a great deal of pressure on government leaders to step down. General Galtieri resigned that year and President Raul Alfonsin, head of a democratic party, was elected president.

Argentina continues to claim sovereignty over the Falklands/ Malvinas and calls upon Britain to negotiate on this issue. Argentina argues that the stationing of over 4,000 British troops on the islands threatens regional peace and security.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FALKLAND ISLANDS WAR

(The following information on Great Britain is designed to help the teacher supplement the class' discussion of Handout #2 and the Falklands War. Since this reference sheet deals only with Great Britain's views, we use the term "Falkland Islands" to describe that territory.)

Historical Context

With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the late 16th century, Great Britain became the world's strongest naval power. By the end of the 18th century, Britain had settled and then lost America's eastern coast, had acquired Canada through victory over France, had established colonies in Australia and New Zealand, and had achieved a dominating position in India. Because Britain fought no major wars with European powers between 1815 and 1914 and because of its superior navy and weapons, Britain was able to bring under colonial rule many lesser developed countries, including India, nations of sub-equatorial Africa, Sudan, Nigeria, and nations in southeast Asia.

Gradually, the Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans developed their own administrative bodies; by the outbreak of World War I, these were becoming independent countries, although they continued to follow Britain's policies. When World War II broke out, Canada and South Africa demonstrated their independence by declaring war on Germany separately and by following their own foreign policies. Until 1941, Australia and New Zealand chose not to declare war independently but considered themselves at war since they were following Britain's policies. In 1941, Australia and New Zealand declared war on Japan separately.

After the war, Britain could no longer afford maintaining its far-flung empire. It granted India independence after a nonviolent struggle on the part of the Indians. During the 1950s, Britain's African colonies also gained independence. By 1960, what remained of the British Empire was only a collection of small territories, mostly islands, scattered around the globe.

Before the Falklands War

In 1980, Britain slumped into its worst recession since 1930. Britain's post-World War II governments had adopted extensive

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social programs which overburdened public revenues. Unemployment topped the two million mark and inflation rose to over 10 percent. In 1981, riots broke out in the poor, working-class areas of Liverpool and London.

In the early 1980s Britain continued to reduce the size of its navy. No longer a great empire with global interests to protect, Britain no longer needed a large, long-range navy.

Britain had been negotiating with Argentina since 1966 about the Falklands dispute. In 1980 the British government suggested a means to withdraw from the islands using the idea of a leaseback, which would cede sovereignty to the Argentines but leave the British administration (perhaps up to 99 years). This idea was resisted vigorously by the Islanders who objected to Britain considering Argentine sovereignty over the islands. There was also strong resistance to the leaseback idea in the British Parliament. While some in the British government believed it was not in Britain's best interest to maintain sovereignty, the government believed it had to stand by the principle of self-determination for the Islanders.

Argentina had followed a dual track to press its claim to the islands: diplomacy and occupation of some of the dependencies of the Falklands. In 1976 Argentina occupied the uninhabited dependencies of the Falklands by establishing a scientific base on the Southern Thule Island. Britain protested privately and tolerated the station through 1982. Some analysts see the establishment of the station as an Argentine attempt to test British intentions and will. Also that year an Argentine destroyer fired over the bow of a British research ship when its demand to be allowed to board was refused.

When an Argentine scrap metal recovery crew landed on South Georgia Island and raised the Argentine flag on March 19, 1982, the British government may have seen this act as another attempt by the Argentines to display their military resolve. The British asked that the crew be removed. Argentina reasserted its claims of sovereignty over the Falklands and their dependencies.

The War

On April 2, 1982, Argentine forces invaded and occupied the Falkland Islands, and in response to this, Britain quickly dispatched a small but modern fleet. Many Britons considered the Argentine occupation of the Falklands a full-blown crisis with potentially wide and disastrous consequences. If the Argentines were successful, what, for instance, would prevent Spain from trying its hand at Gibraltar? In the national press, comparisons were drawn with the Suez and Munich crises. Some in the British

government resented being hurried in the process of deconolonization. Some believed that decolonization was inappropriate for the Falklands in light of their sole occupation by a small population of British citizens over such a long time period. The government's position was that the Islanders should be granted the right of self-determination, and the Islanders clearly wanted to remain British. To some in the international community, Britain's fervor sounded like a nostalgic revival of the heyday of the Empire. Many Britons were insulted by the arrogant boldness of a third-rate power like Argentina, and many Britons were exhilarated by even the temporary revival of their imperial military past.

<u>After the War</u>

Britain celebrated its victory and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher won widespread praise for her courage. Polls indicated a rise in Thatcher's popularity from 25 to 51 percent. No British prime minister had enjoyed such public support since Winston Churchill in the 1940s.

The British government, at enormous expense, fortified the Falklands with military aircraft, warships, and over 4,000 soldiers. No Latin American nation will help Great Britain in provisioning the islands; all supplies and services must be airlifted from Ascension Island, which is over 4,500 miles from the Falklands.

CASE STUDY: FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR
Lesson Two

Introduction

This two-day lesson uses the Falklands/Malvinas War as a case study to explore the question of why nations go to war. After studing the background of the Falklands/Malvinas War, students role-play an Argentine military council and come to understand both Argentina's views and Great Britain's views of the conflict. Then students analyze two editorials about what should have been done by both Argentina and Britain during the crisis preceding actual combat.

Materials

- Reference #1: Great Britain and the Falkland Islands War (teacher use only)
- overhead transparency of Overhead #1: Military Council Questions
- overhead transparency of Overhead #2: Conflict Analysis
- overhead projector and screen
- one copy per student in half the class of Handout #3: We Are All Falklanders Now
- one copy per student in half the class of Handout #4: Study Questions for We Are All Falklanders Now
- one copy per student in half the class of Handout #5: Fight or Negotiate?
- one copy per student in half the class of Handout #6: Study Questions for Fight or Negotiate?
- one copy per student of Handout #7: Outline Map of the Middle East (for introduction to Lesson Three)
- one reference map of the Middle East per five students (not provided in this unit; possible references include atlases, encyclopedias, almanacs, and world history textbooks)
- overhead transparency of Handout #7 Answer Key: Outline Map of the Middle East (for introduction to Lesson Three)
- colored pencils (optional; see lesson plan)
- one copy per student of Handout #8: The Middle East: The Jews and the Arabs (for introduction to Lesson Three)

Objectives

In this lesson, students will:

o use maps to find the locations of Argentina, Great Britain, and the Falkland/Malivinas (see end of Lesson One)

o analyze the events leading up to the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas War

- o role-play an Argentine military council

- o work in groups to analyze the following elements of conflict in the Falkland/Malvinas War: the goals of Britain and Argentina, the conflict management/resolution methods used by Britain and Argentina, and the results of the war

- o discuss some of the alternatives available to Britain and Argentina before and during the Falklands/Malvinas War

- o analyze two editorials about the Falklands/Malvinas crisis

Procedures: Day 2

Discussion of Background Reading: 15 minutes

1. Ask students if they have any questions about Handout #2. Make sure they understand the following terms from the handout: sovereignty (paragraph 2), settlement (paragraph 2), evict (paragraph 2), self-determination (paragraph 3), colonial (paragraph 3), and bilateral (paragraph 4).

2. Announce that students are to assume the role of an Argentine military council which decided upon the Argentine occupation of the Falklands/Malvinas one day earlier. Thus, students are to understand and be able to explain the Argentine military council's viewpoints on the Falklands/Malvinas crisis.

3. Divide the class into groups of four or five. Display Overhead #1. Students are to work in their groups to formulate answers to the questions. Stress that each group member should know the answer to each question as all members of the military council are held responsible for the council's decisions. Give students 10 minutes to formulate answers.

4. Discuss the questions on Overhead #1. Randomly call on members of each group to respond to the questions as military council members. Students are to support their answers with information given in Handout #2. The questions, possible answers from the point of view of the Argentine military council, and supporting arguments are given below.

   Note: Since the questions are being asked of an Argentine military council and the possible answers are those of the military council, "Malvinas" is used here to refer to the islands.

   - o What is your justification for deciding to occupy the Malvinas? (Possible responses include: We have a historical claim of sovereignty over the islands dating

back to when we gained independence from Spain. Our first settlement of the islands in 1826 was ended in 1833 when the British evicted our people. In order to preserve the territorial integrity of Argentina, Argentina should be granted sovereignty over the islands as Argentina is closer to the islands than any other country. Finally, the age of colonialism has ended; Britain must end its colonial rule of the islands.)

- British people have been living in the Malvinas for over 150 years. Do you think that the people of the world will find your legal claims weak next to this fact? (Possible responses include: The Malvinas community is not a normal community. The islands form one sheep-raising station controlled by a single colonial company. The people of the Malvinas are presently more like company employees than free and independent people. A true community would have a strong moral claim to a piece of land, but a company does not. The reason that for 150 years the majority of Islanders have been of British descent is because Britain restricted immigration to the islands.)

- What do you expect Great Britain's response will be? (Possible responses include: Great Britain is far away; considering the relatively small population and few resources of the islands, the Malvinas aren't important enough to the British to fight over.)

- Why do you expect the U.S. either to help your country or remain neutral despite repeated warnings that it would help Britain? (Possible responses include: U.S. President Reagan's administration generally supported Argentine President Galtieri's regime in the past.)

  You may wish to give students further supporting information: Argentina and the U.S. are both American states. It has long been U.S. policy through the Monroe Doctrine that American states should stand together against outside intrusion. The U.S. had provided Argentina military training in the past.

- What possible economic or strategic advantages would there be to possession of the Malvinas? (Possible responses include: 1) There may be oil in the continental shelf near the Malvinas. 2) The South Atlantic is a very rich fishing area. 3) Control of the Malvinas and South Georgia may make Argentina the dominant power in the South Atlantic, and this may give Argentina an advantage in Antarctica if that continent, with all its potential mineral resources, is divided. 4) A war victory might mean the Argentine-Malvinas trade would increase. 5) A

war victory might stimulate the economy by raising other nations' confidence in Argentina.)

Teacher Interview: 15 minutes

1. Announce that you are assuming the role of an advisor to the Argentine military council. You were sent by the Argentine government to Great Britain to act as a spy. The class (still role-playing the Argentine military council) is to interview you to determine whether or not Great Britain will respond to Argentina's day-old occupation of the Falklands/Malvinas. In order to avoid questions about weaponry or strategy, students are to assume that if Great Britain fights, Great Britain will win. The council's mission, therefore, is to determine whether Great Britain will or will not fight.

   Note: In preparation for your interview by students, you should read Reference #1 which provides background information about Britain's imperial past, its political and economic situation during the Falklands/Malvinas crisis, and its views of the crisis.

2. Give students a few minutes to write down at least one question each that they would like to ask you, an Argentine spy who has returned from Britain.

3. Have students interview you. You may wish to encourage students to ask you questions about Britain's imperial past, Britain's economic situation, the reputation of Britain's leader, and Britain's views of the crisis and Argentine-British history. In the course of this interview, some of the following points should be brought out:

   - During the last century the British Empire spanned the globe. At the end of World War II it began to dismantle this empire. The military power of the United States and the Soviet Union has increased relative to Britain's military power.

   - Britain's postwar decline and decolonization may have dampened the pride of British citizens.

   - Unemployment and inflation were high in Britain for some time before the Falklands/Malvinas War. While Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had instituted a number of economic reforms, these reforms hadn't pleased everyone.

   - In the early 1980s, Britain was reducing the size of its navy. No longer a great empire with global interests to

protect, Britain no longer needed a large, long-range navy.

- Prime Minister Thatcher feared that unless the Falklands/Malvinas could be regained, her own government would surely fall. Moreover, some in the British government questioned whether decolonization of the Falklands/Malvinas was appropriate in light of its sole occupation by British citizens over such a long time period.

- An important issue for Britain was the right of self-determination for the Islanders. The Islanders clearly did not want Argentine sovereignty over the islands.

Note: If students ask you questions that you are unable to answer, you might respond that you were unable to gain access to that information while you were in Britain.

Analysis of Falklands/Malvinas War: 20 minutes

1. Students should end playing their military council roles. Divide students into groups of five. Display Overhead #2. Students should work in their groups for 10 minutes to analyze the Falklands/Malvinas War.

2. The last 10 minutes of the period, go over the following questions and possible responses:

   - Who were the participants? (Answer: Argentina and Great Britain.)

   - What was the conflict? What were the goals of each participant? (Some perspectives include: Argentina's stated goal was to gain control of and to express its sovereignty over the Malvinas. Britain's stated goal was to defend the Falklands, whose inhabitants were British citizens who did not want to give Argentina sovereignty over the islands. The conflict related to the fact that these two goals were mutually exclusive.)

     Point out to students that these reasons given by both nations for going to war are their claims of rights. Ask students if, in this case, there was a difference between stated and unstated reasons for going to war.

   - What method of management or resolution was chosen? (Answer: During the actual Falklands/Malvinas War, the methods used included a show of force, threats of violence, and war.)

   - What were some results of the actions taken? (Some perspectives include: Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher

won widespread praise for her country's victory; victory may have helped Thatcher instigate further economic reforms; Argentina's military government was pressured to step down; the islands became fortified with over 4,000 soldiers, military aircraft, and warships; Argentina lost faith in the U.S. as a reliable ally.)

- How could the results be viewed as a win-win outcome? (Possible responses include: Argentina eventually gained a democratically elected government and Britain repelled aggression.)

  How could the results be viewed as a win-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: Britain militarily defeated Argentina.)

  How could the results be viewed as a lose-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: Argentina was humiliated; Britain was burdened with the expense of protecting and supplying the Falklands/Malvinas from afar.)

  You might want to have students brainstorm all the wins and losses for each participant.

  Ask students which of these views do they judge to be accurate or most accurate. (Responses will vary.)

- Did the outcomes affect any other parties? If so, in what way were they affected? (Some perspectives include: U.S. relations with Argentina were strained and had to be restored. The Islanders may have sacrificed some of their peaceful lifestyle given the new fortifications of the islands.)

- Did the participants manage or resolve the conflict? (Some perspectives include: (1) The conflict was managed because the dispute between Great Britain and Argentina over the sovereignty of the Falklands/Malvinas has continued since the war. (2) The conflict was managed because war never resolves underlying conflicts. (3) The conflict was resolved because Argentina finally realized Britain had the will and power to maintain sovereignty over the islands. Argentina will not dare engage in armed conflict with Britain again. (4) The conflict was resolved because Britain obviously has control over the islands.)

- What are some alternative conflict management or resolution methods that were used in the past in this conflict situation? What other methods could have been used? (Some perspectives include: negotiations; one of the participants could have changed its goals in such a

way that it would have withdrawn from the conflict; a United Nations peacekeeping force could have been assigned to the islands; Britain could have shown its resolve toward the islands earlier by vigorously protesting Argentina's establishment of a research station on the Southern Thule Island.)

3. Inform students that their analysis of the Falklands/Malvinas War will continue through Day 3.

Homework:

1. For homework, provide half the class with Handouts #3 and #4 and the other half of the class with Handouts #5 and #6. Students are to read one of the editorials and answer the relevant study questions in preparation for Day 3. Students should use a dictionary while they are reading.

Procedures: Day 3

Discussion of Editorials: 35 minutes

1. Announce to the class the title of Handout #3, the author's name, and the name of the newspaper. Ask students who read Handout #3 to briefly summarize the main points of the editorial. The students should also define for the class any difficult words in the editorial.

2. Go over the questions and answers to Handout #4 with the entire class by calling on those students who read Handout #3 for the answers to the study questions. Note that a teacher answer key for these study questions is provided.

3. Announce to all students the title of Handout #5, the author's name, and the name of the newspaper. Ask students who read Handout #5 to briefly summarize the main points of the editorial. The students should also define for the class any difficult words in the editorial.

4. Go over the questions and answers to Handout #6 with the entire class by calling on those students who read Handout #4 for the answers to the study questions. Note that a teacher answer key for these study questions is provided.

5. Remind students that on Day 2 they analyzed the Falklands/ Malvinas War. They focused on these elements: goals of the participants, the conflict management/resolution method chosen, the results of the method chosen, and alternative management/resolution methods. Ask students if their analysis of the conflict has changed after discussing the two editorials. Did the authors of the editorials point to goals

or alternative conflict resolution/management methods that were not discussed on Day 2?

6. Ask students the following questions which explore the diversity of opinion on the Falklands/Malvinas War:

   - Are students aware of other opinions of U.S. citizens on the Falklands/Malvinas War? What opinions (other than those of Reston) might exist among U.S. citizens?

   - What opinions (other than those of The Times of London) might exist in Great Britain?

   - Point out to students that neither of the editorials came from an Argentine newspaper. What are some possible Argentine views of the Falklands War?

   - What events in the history of the Falklands/Malvinas conflict could have more than one interpretation?

   - Is understanding the historical, economic, social, and political background of Argentina and Great Britain useful in understanding the conflict? How could different views about one side's history lead analysts to different opinions about why the conflict began?

7. To conclude the discussion on the Falklands/Malvinas War, ask students the following questions about how the Falklands/Malvinas crisis might have been managed/resolved differently:

   - Did internal political or economic factors influence each nation's decision to go to war? If yes, how? (Responses will vary.)

   - Could Argentina and Great Britain have conceivably utilized background knowledge of one another to avoid violent conflict? If so, how? (Some perspectives include: (1) Yes. Given Argentina's long history of frustration in the struggle to regain the Falklands/Malvinas and given the precarious situation of Argentina's unpopular government at the time, the British might have expected some direct action on the part of the Argentines. In anticipation of trouble, Great Britain could have made it clear to Argentina that it would fight if provoked. This might have been achieved either by a strong warning or deployment of forces in the South Atlantic. (2) No. Judging from Britain's general postwar policy of decolonization and the cutbacks on its navy, Argentina might have expected Great Britain to be either unwilling or unable to respond effectively to provocation. (3) Yes. Judging by the historic national pride of the British people and the tough foreign policy stance of the Thatcher government,

the Argentine government might have expected that Britain would not tolerate an invasion of territory. Since self-determination of the Islanders had been an important point for the British in negotiations, Argentina might have expected that Britain would defend British citizens on the islands. To achieve some progress and avoid a war, Argentina might have continued to negotiate for an acceptable arrangement for rule over the Falklands/ Malvinas.)

- What other country might the Argentine government have tried to understand better and why? (Some perspectives include: The United States. The Argentine government might have paid more attention to the U.S. warning that it would side with Britain in the case of a war. Considering the strong historical tie between the U.S. and Great Britain, the Argentine government might have guessed that in a pinch the U.S. would side with Great Britain.)

Introduction to the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 15 minutes

1. Provide a transition into the next topic, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Camp David Accords, by telling students that violence is one category of conflict resolution/management methods. Nonviolence is another category. A particular example of a nonviolent method is negotiation, which was used by Israel and Egypt in 1979 to deal with part of the Middle East conflict.

2. Distribute Handout #7: Outline Map of the Middle East. Write the names of the places listed below on the chalkboard:

   - Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, North Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, and United Arab Emirates

   - Arabian Sea, Dead Sea, Gulf of Suez, Gulf of Aqaba, Mediterranean Sea, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea

   Divide the class into groups of five students. Provide each group with a reference map. (Possible references are atlases, world history textbooks, encyclopedias, and almanacs.) Students are to locate and label the places listed above on their maps. You may prefer to have students use colored pencils to color in the places indicated.

   Note: students may have some difficulty with this assignment given that many of the boundaries are undefined and many of the reference materials available in the classroom are out-dated. If they complain that the can't locate every place required, just tell students to do the best they can. Their

difficulties in completing the assignment will be part of the discussion below.

3. Display the overhead transparency of the Answer Key for Handout #7. Students should check their maps. Ask students the following questions:

   - On the maps used as references, were some of the boundaries undefined? If so, which ones?

     Note: On the answer key provided, we have not indicated which boundaries are undefined because all the undefined boundaries are between Saudi Arabia and its southern and eastern neighbors.

   - What is the date of the map used as a reference?

   - What is the large piece of land between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba? (Answer: Sinai Peninsula.) Of what country is the Sinai a part? (Answer: The main portion of the peninsula is part of Egypt. The small portion indicated on Handout #7 is called the Gaza Strip; this piece of land is currently under Israeli control.)

     Note: as a reference, the teacher may wish to look at page 8 of Handout #8 which has a detailed map of this small region.

   - What is the small piece of land between Israel and Jordan and roughly north of the Dead Sea? (Answer: the West Bank.) Of what country is this piece of land a part? (Answer: the West Bank is currently occupied by Israel.)

     Why is this piece of land called the West Bank? (Answer: it is located on the west bank of the Jordan River.)

     Note: on Handout #7, the Golan Heights (officially annexed by Israel in 1981) is shown as part of Israel.

4. Announce that students should keep their maps to use as a reference for the next two days of lessons on the Middle East conflict.

Homework:

1. Give each student a copy of Handout #8 which provides historical background to the Camp David negotiations between Israel and Egypt. Tell students that definitions of the words in bold are in the glossary. Students should read this as homework in preparation for the next day's lesson on the Middle East. Ask students to come to the next day's class with ideas about a possible solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

OVERHEAD #1

MILITARY COUNCIL QUESTIONS

- WHAT IS YOUR JUSTIFICATION FOR DECIDING TO OCCUPY THE MALVINAS?

- BRITISH PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LIVING IN THE MALVINAS FOR OVER 150 YEARS. DO YOU THINK THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WILL FIND YOUR LEGAL CLAIMS WEAK NEXT TO THIS FACT?

- WHAT DO YOU EXPECT GREAT BRITAIN'S RESPONSE WILL BE?

- WHY DO YOU EXPECT THE U.S. EITHER TO HELP YOUR COUNTRY OR REMAIN NEUTRAL DESPITE REPEATED WARNINGS THAT IT WOULD HELP BRITAIN?

- WHAT ECONOMIC OR STRATEGIC ADVANTAGES WOULD THERE BE TO POSSESSION OF THE MALVINAS?

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OVERHEAD #2

CONFLICT ANALYSIS

- WHO WERE THE PARTICIPANTS?
- WHAT WAS THE CONFLICT? WHAT WERE THE GOALS OF EACH PARTICIPANT?
- WHAT METHOD OF MANAGEMENT OR RESOLUTION WAS CHOSEN?
- WHAT WERE SOME RESULTS OF THE ACTIONS TAKEN?
- HOW COULD THE RESULTS BE VIEWED AS A WIN-WIN OUTCOME? A WIN-LOSE OUTCOME? A LOSE-LOSE OUTCOME?
- DID THE OUTCOMES AFFECT ANY OTHER PARTIES? IF SO, IN WHAT WAY WERE THEY AFFECTED?
- DID THE PARTICIPANTS MANAGE OR RESOLVE THE CONFLICT?
- WHAT ARE SOME ALTERNATIVE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT OR RESOLUTION METHODS THAT WERE USED IN THE PAST IN THIS CONFLICT SITUATION? WHAT OTHER METHODS COULD HAVE BEEN USED?

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WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW
Editorial by The Times

The aim of all strategy is to fulfill clearly-stated political objectives making the best use of the resources available. At the heart of strategy is the art of applying force so that it makes the most effective contribution towards the achievement of the political objective. In relationships between states, strategic interests often collide. When they do so force need not be, but may ultimately become the only way to resolve the issue of opposing wills...

There can be -- there must be -- no doubt about our strategic objective. As the Prime Minister said in the Commons on Saturday, the Falkland Islands are British territory, inhabited by British citizens. They have been invaded by enemy forces. Those forces must be removed. The authority of Britain must be reasserted over the Islands. How we do that, and when are tactical questions which will be considered in due course. But there can be no evading the principle at stake, and no doubt that the consequences of adhering to that principle may be hard, long, painful and unpredictable, with many people -- friends and foes -- getting hurt in the process...

The objective therefore is the restoration of British sovereignty over the Falklands and the freedom for the Falklanders to choose what to do with their lives. It will not be easy. However, in 1939 we stood by Poland and went to war... (A) moment had come in Europe when the consequences of not standing up to the aggressive policies of a dictatorship would have been worse than standing up to them. We are now in the same position with the Argentine dictatorship... As in 1939, so today; the same principles apply to the Falklands. We have given our word, and we must, where we can, prevent the expansionist policies of a dictatorship affecting our interests. But there is a more important dimension now. The Poles were Poles; the Falklanders are our people. They are British citizens. The Falkland Islands are British territory. When British territory is invaded, it is not just an invasion of our land, but of our whole spirit. We are all Falklanders now...

This editorial appeared in The Times (London, England), April 5, 1982. Copyright (c) Times Newspapers Ltd. Used with permission. Excerpted by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education.

The only basis on which Britain could have defended the Islands -- and has defended them hitherto -- has been one of deterrence. Deterrence is a state of mind rather than a state of affairs on the ground or at sea. In this case the deterrence has broken down. The Argentines moved not because we had suddenly withdrawn our defenses from the Falklands -- there never were any -- but because something convinced them that we no longer had the will or perhaps even the capacity to retaliate against an attack. And the whole foundation of a policy of deterrence not just in the Falkland Islands but in Berlin, on the Elbe, in the North Sea, or in the North Atlantic, is based on us having the means to retaliate against an attack, and the will to do so. Without those means and without that willpower the policy of deterrence is no longer credible. The deterrent will not deter. The bluff will be called. It was called last Friday.

There are many practical consequences which ensue from the assertion of the governing principle that the aggression must be reversed. Somehow, sometime, the Argentine forces must be induced or forced to leave the Falklands. We have the full authority of a [U.N.] Security Council resolution to support that proposition. We could not ask for more than that. We probably expected less; and in the weeks ahead we will doubtless get less when it is shown that the influence of collective diplomacy is inadequate to dissuade a desperate group of men from perpetuating a colossal mistake, which they perhaps would rather die than admit. Diplomacy must be given a chance and it is always important in strategy to leave your adversary room to retreat, if retreat rather than annihilation is what you seek. It is a retreat that we seek...

If diplomatic efforts fail, in a few weeks time the Task Force [British fleet sailing to the South Atlantic] will be in the right area. How it goes about securing the eviction or evacuation of the invading forces will be the subject of urgent technical study. It can be done; it will be done... That is the objective in the Falkland Islands; and it is a limited one. We neither want nor need to engage the Argentine forces in their home territory. But there may have to be a fight about it, in which people will get hurt...

STUDY QUESTIONS:
WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW

Answer the following questions on a separate piece of paper or on the reverse.

1. Does the introductory paragraph state that violence must be used to resolve a conflict of interests?

2. According to this editorial, what is the strategic objective that Great Britain must aim to achieve?

3. What other historical British involvement (not related to the Falklands) is referred to in the article? How was this involvement similar to the current British-Argentine interaction, according to the article?

4. Can you think of ways in which the two instances differ?

5. Why do you think this comparison is drawn?

6. According to the article, what is the importance of deterrence to the situation in the Falklands?

7. What does the article say about diplomacy as a means of resolving the Falklands crisis?

8. Summarize the editorial's message about Britain's proper response to the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands. What course of action is recommended?

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HANDOUT #4: ANSWER KEY

STUDY QUESTIONS:
WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW

1. Does the introductory paragraph state that violence must be used to resolve a conflict of interests? No, it argues that in some cases it must be ultimately turned to as the only way to resolve a conflict.

2. According to this editorial, what is the strategic objective that Great Britain must aim to achieve? The primary objective is the removal of Argentine forces from the Falkland Islands and the restoration of British authority.

3. What other historical British involvement (not related to the Falklands) is referred to in the article? How was this involvement similar to the current British-Argentine interaction, according to the article? British action defending Poland against German tyranny in 1939 is compared to British action in defense of the Falkland Islands. Both are reactions against the expansionism of an aggressor.

4. Can you think of ways in which the two instances differ? The article notes that in 1939 Britain was defending Poles while in 1982 it was defending its own people. The number of lives at stake in the Falklands in 1982 was obviously significantly less than the number of lives threatened in Poland by Germany. Geographically, Poland is much nearer Britain than is South America. Only in the case of Argentina was Britain fighting against a Third World nation.

5. Why do you think this comparison is drawn? One reason might be to demonstrate a sense of urgency in the current Falklands crisis which was present in the German invasion of Poland. Because British intervention on behalf of Poland in 1939 is generally considered well-justified, British defense of the Falkland Islands seems, by association justified.

6. According to the article, what is the importance of deterrence to the situation in the Falklands? The article argues that it was a failure of deterrence that caused (or allowed) Argentine action in the Islands. Only through a strong retaliatory move will the psychological deterrent be restored which protects the Islands from outside attack. The importance of British deterrence in the Falklands is emphasized by linking it to

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British deterrent power throughout the world; the editorial implies that a failure of deterrence in the Falkland Islands indicated a general weakness of British deterrence globally.

7. What does the article say about diplomacy as a means of resolving the Falklands crisis? The article states that diplomacy must be given a chance, but that if diplomatic efforts fail, then violence may be necessary, although the British do not want or need to use it.

8. Summarize the editorial's message about Britain's proper response to the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands. What course of action is recommended? The article argues that while immediate war is not called for, it is likely that some form of armed action will be required. The comparison between the Islands and Poland suggest moral justification for armed action, while the emphasis on deterrent weakness calls upon British fear of attack as support. In short, the article is careful to avoid prescribing immediate armed retaliation without first attempting negotiation or other methods of attaining British goals, but it implies that armed action is likely to be required and will be justified if it is taken.

FIGHT OR NEGOTIATE?
by James Reston

Washington, April 10 - The basic question in the dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland-Malvinas Islands is whether it should be settled by military means. All other questions are secondary to this...

If Argentina can settle its geographic and historic dispute with Britain by force of arms; if the Soviets can invade Afghanistan; or the Israelis can bomb the Iraq nuclear facilities or attack Lebanon again -- all in defense of "national security" -- there will be no order in the world and no security for anybody.

The crisis over the Falkland-Malvinas Islands is a symbol of this much larger issue. If Argentina's attempt to displace the British in the Falklands isn't opposed by the United States and the United Nations, how long will it be before Spain is using force to get the British out of Gibraltar, and before all the nations with border disputes are using force to settle their differences?...

Fortunately, if there must be a war between Britain and Argentina, which makes more news than sense, there is something to be said for the leisurely way they are both approaching the first shot...

This is the way wars, if we have to have them, should probably be started or avoided: not with a bang, but with time to consider the causes and consequences. The guess here is that some kind of compromise will be worked out, before or after the British nuclear submarines put a torpedo into some wayward Argentine ship.

The Argentine generals...could easily misjudge Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister. She has not been named the "Iron Lady" by accident. She has committed herself and her Government to defend the Falklands, and if she has to choose between fighting and being humiliated and defeated, there is little doubt that she will give the order to fight...

This article was written by James Reston and appeared in The New York Times (New York City, NY), April 11, 1982. Copyright (c) 1982 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission. Excerpted by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education.

(There) are grounds for believing that a political compromise is possible and even likely. Argentina officials here in Washington are talking about an international administration of the islands -- run by a troika of Argentine - British - U.S. officials, or by some other international administrative organization put together by the Organization of American States or the United Nations.

Everything, the Argentinians say, is negotiable except the ultimate sovereignty of these islands by Argentina. They will make a deal to share with the British the exploitation of the oil and fishery rights in the waters around the islands. They will even postpone the question of sovereignty, provided that, eventually, they are assured of control of the islands.

On this basis, there is the chance of a resolution of the crisis, but with warships on both sides approaching the defined 200-mile battleground, time is obviously running out...

HANDOUT #6

STUDY QUESTIONS:
FIGHT OR NEGOTIATE?

Answer the following questions on a separate piece of paper or in the space below.

1. What is the central question which needs to be addressed, according to Reston, in deciding how to manage the crisis in the Falkland Islands?

2. What is the "larger issue" which is symbolized by the Falklands dispute? What is Reston's argument about this issue?

3. Reston urges that an alternative way be found for settling the British-Argentine conflict. What is the alternative he discusses and why does he seem to suggest that this alternative is preferable to war?

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STUDY QUESTIONS: FIGHT OR NEGOTIATE

1. What is the central question which needs to be addressed, according to Reston, in deciding how to manage the crisis in the Falkland Islands? According to Reston, the central question is whether or not force should be used in resolving the conflict.

2. What is the "larger issue" which is symbolized by the Falklands dispute? What is Reston's argument about this issue? The larger issue is whether or not all nations will begin to use force to settle international territorial disputes. Reston seems to argue that nations should attempt to settle disputes without violence.

3. Reston urges that an alternative to war be found for settling the British-Argentine conflict. What is the alternative he discusses and why does he seem to suggest that this alternative is preferable to war? Reston urges a diplomatic compromise, such as an international coalition government for the islands. The implication is that such a compromise would benefit both parties because neither would suffer any loss of human lives or property over the dispute. Because the Argentines claim that besides the ultimate sovereignty of the islands, everything, including fishing and petroleum rights, is negotiable, Reston may be suggesting that a compromise would outweigh the benefits of a military victory on either side.

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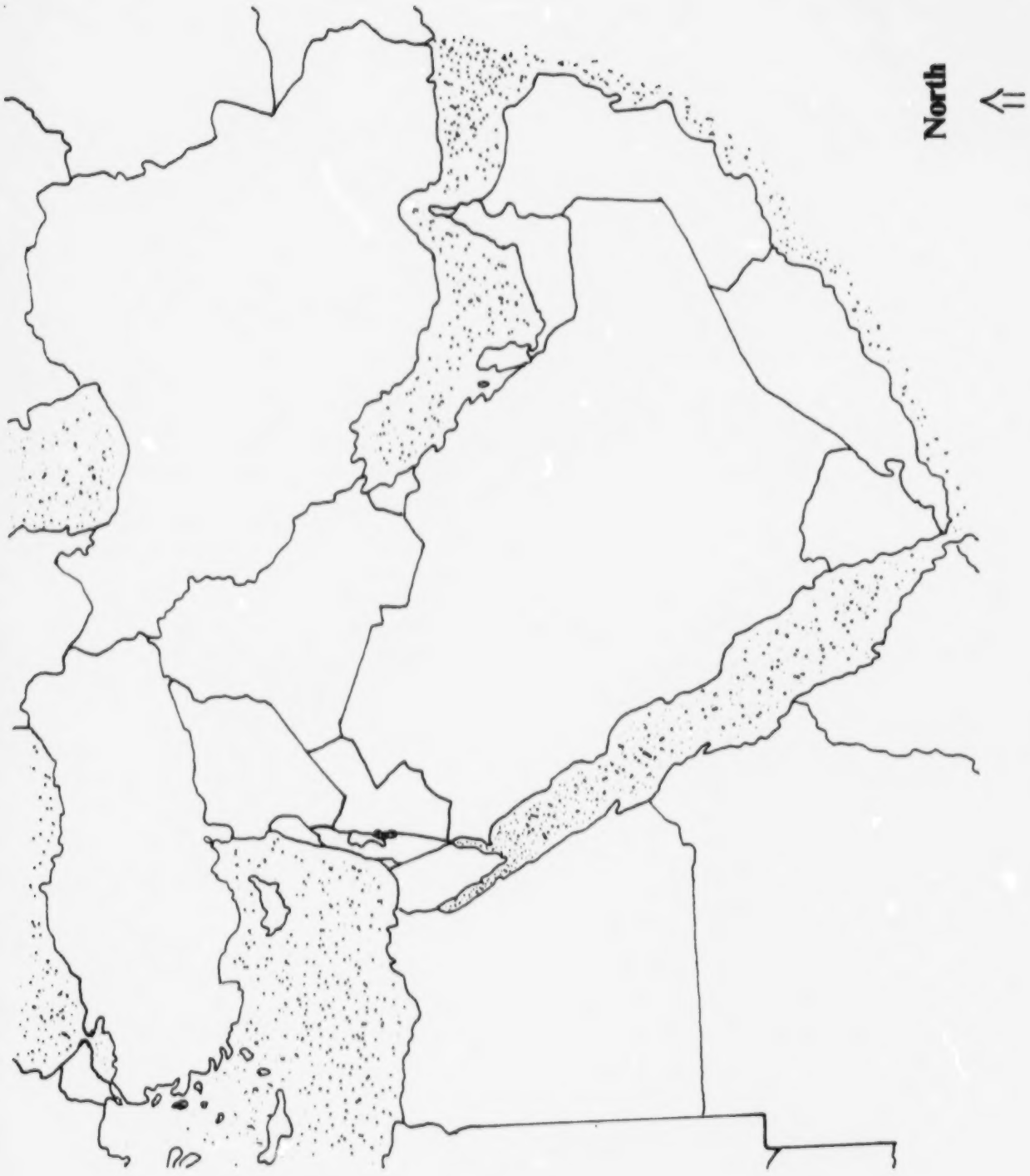

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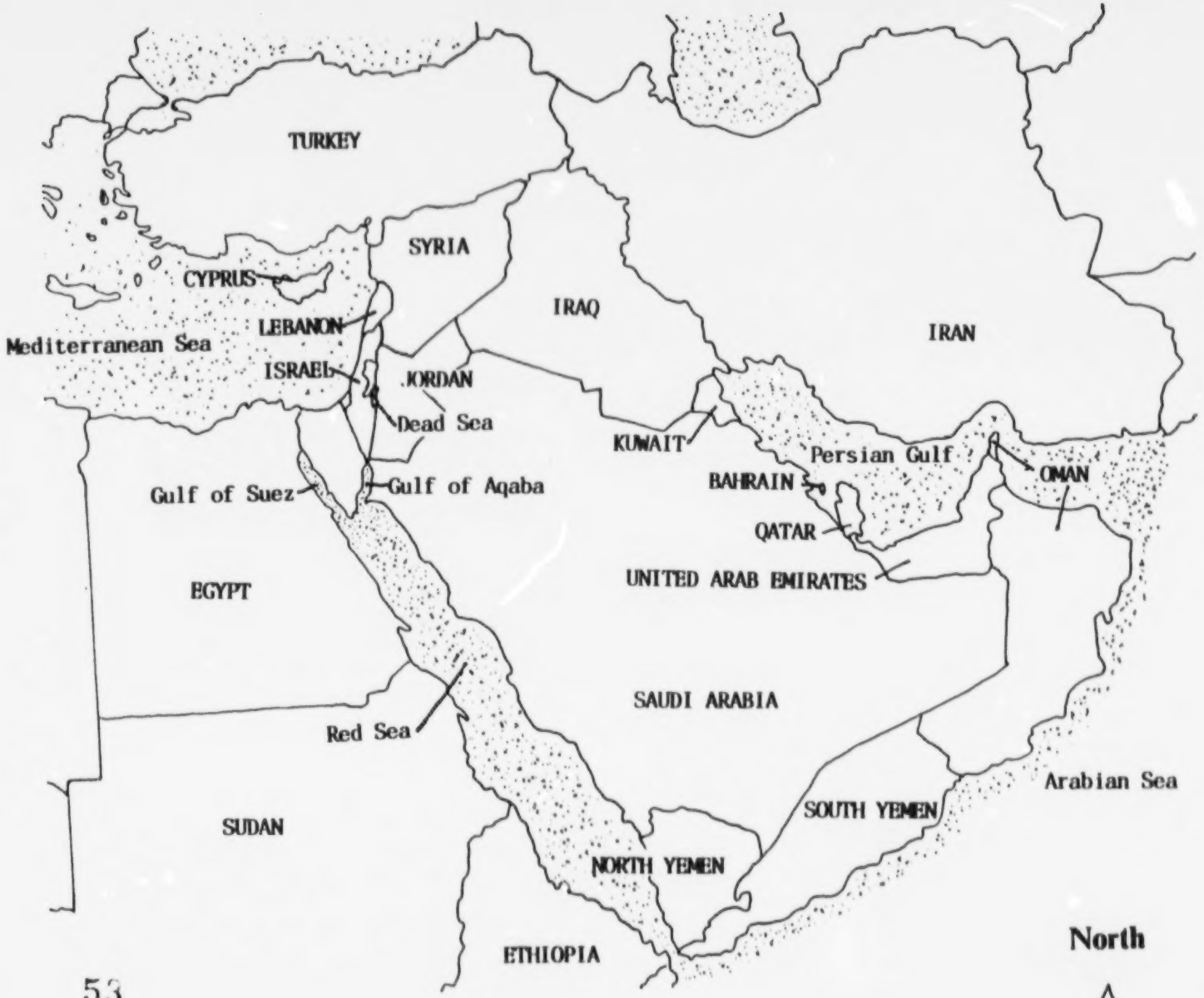

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54

HANDOUT #7: ANSWER KEY

HANDOUT #8

MIDDLE EAST: THE JEWS AND THE ARABS

Historical Context

Since the beginning of the 20th century, **Arabs** and **Jews** have been involved in a bitter contest over the same piece of land in the Middle East. Both Arabs and Jews claim historical rights to the territory known by the Arabs as Palestine and by the Jews as Israel.

For at least 2,000 years, the Jews lived as minorities in countries around the world where many suffered hostility and persecution. Because of this persecution, many Jews in the 19th century decided that they would not be safe until they returned to **Zion**, the land of the Jews in Biblical times. However, the land of Zion was at that time predominantly inhabited by Arabs and was known as **Palestine**. The Jewish movement around the turn of the century to establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine became known as "Zionism."

The Middle East was part of the Ottoman Empire, under Turkish rule, prior to World War I. In 1915, Britain pledged support for Arab independence (but left ambiguous if this included Palestine) in hopes of encouraging Arabs to fight with Britain against the Turks; the Arabs agreed. In order to gain Jewish support in the war effort, Britain also promised the Jews that it would work for a Jewish **homeland** in Palestine. This promise was made in the Balfour Declaration, a letter written in 1917 to Lord Rothschild, president of the British Zionist Federation.

The Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War I. The League of Nations, representing the interests of the victors, carved up the Ottoman territories. The territory now occupied by Israel was granted to Great Britain as a **mandate**. The terms of the League of Nations mandate contained an explicit commitment to assist the Zionists in establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine, as long as this did not interfere with the rights of those Arabs already living in the region. At that time, over 90% of the population of the region was Arab. To some analysts, the mandate was ambiguous as to whether the term "homeland" meant the establishment of a state.

The Arabs feared that a rapid influx of Jews into Palestine would cause the Arabs to become a minority in what they considered their own country. Arabs and Jews soon began attacking each

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other in the region. During the 1930s, Jewish-Arab relations worsened. The British published a White Paper that promised the Arabs a halt to the influx of immigration into Palestine after five years, to be followed by self-government with an Arab majority. The Zionists were outraged.

The holocaust of World War II, during which approximately six million Jews were killed, led to a flood of Jewish immigrants into Palestine, despite British efforts to restrict Jewish immigration. The British could no longer control Jewish-Arab fighting in the region so they decided to turn the Palestine problem over to the United Nations.

The U.N. Partition Plan

The United Nations devised a partition plan which would divide Palestine into two states, one for the Jews and one for the Arabs. Jerusalem, a holy city to Jews, Muslims, and Christians, would be reserved as an international zone, under neither Jewish nor Arab rule. Most Jews accepted the partition, which they viewed as a step towards creating the long-awaited Jewish state. Most Arabs rejected the proposal for several reasons. First, some Arabs considered the plan unfair since it would give the Jews 56% of the land even though Jews made up only 30% of the population and occupied only 6.5% of the land. Second, many Arabs rejected the authority of the U.N., especially since the U.N. at that time consisted mostly of Western nations. Despite these Arab concerns, the partition plan was approved with a majority vote by the U.N. in 1947.

The partition plan did not turn out to be a peaceful resolution to the contest over Palestine. Almost immediately following the U.N. decision, fighting began between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs. On May 14, 1948, the Jews formally declared that those parts of Palestine under Jewish control were now the independent nation of Israel.

The Arab-Israeli Wars

The next day, armies of six Arab states united to attack Israel, initiating the first Arab-Israeli war. Israel quickly resisted the Arab attack. As a result of the fighting and truce agreements, Israel gained a substantial amount of the territory allotted to the Arabs in the U.N. partition plan. An estimated 750,000 Arab residents of the new state of Israel fled to neighboring Arab states and the Jews became a majority within Israel.

The Jews and the Arabs argue as to who is responsible for the refugees' flight. Israel claims that the Arab governments

broadcast orders to Palestinian Arabs to leave Israel so that the Arab armies could more easily move in against the Israelis. The Arabs claim that the Jews used terrorist tactics against the Palestinians to drive them out. Approximately 150,000 Palestinians managed by chance or by choice to stay in their homes in Israel and became Israeli citizens.

Some Arab countries would not accept the Palestinian refugees, and most of the Palestinians themselves refused to **assimilate** into other Arab countries, arguing that they wanted to return to their homes. Israel refused to take them back, claiming that their return would cause a serious security problem. Thus, many of the Palestinians were placed into refugee camps in Arab countries neighboring Israel. The refugees lived on food provided by the U.N. The cause of a Palestinian homeland in Palestine became a point Arab countries raised when speaking in opposition to Israel. Egypt, as the most powerful of the Arab states, took the lead in speaking out about this struggle.

During the 1948 war, Israel conquered the western part of Jerusalem. After the war, a line was drawn through the middle of the city. Western Jerusalem was surrounded by Israeli territory and eastern Jerusalem was surrounded by Palestinian Arab territory. Jordan subsequently **annexed** eastern Jerusalem.

The second Arab-Israeli war broke out in 1956 when Egypt **nationalized** the Suez Canal, which had previously been under international control. This upset the British and French, who imported oil through the canal. Britain and France turned to Israel to help them take the canal back by force. Israel invaded Egypt and rapidly conquered the Sinai, but then retreated in the face of overwhelming criticism from the U.S., U.S.S.R., and U.N.

A third war occurred in 1967 when Egyptian troops blocked the Gulf of Aqaba, the only shipping route into Israel by way of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Arab radio and television began broadcasting calls for war against Israel. On the morning of June 5, in anticipation of the Arab attack, Israel's air force attacked the main airfields in Egypt, followed by those of Jordan, Syria, and Iraq, wiping out virtually all of the Arab war-fighting capability. Then Israel's army moved into the Sinai and, in four days, captured the entire peninsula. By June 10, Israel had expanded its land area to three times what it had been six days earlier, having conquered and **occupied** the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula (both of which had been controlled by Egypt), the Golan Heights (which had been part of Syria), and the West Bank including the Arab part of Jerusalem (which had been under Jordanian control). (See attached map.)

Before the 1967 War, the Palestinians, most of whom were in exile, were for the most part leaderless and disorganized. However, the history of Arab defeats had proven to some the inadequacy of the Arab armies, convincing many Palestinians that they must organize and themselves liberate what they considered to be their usurped homeland. Thus, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), formed in 1964, emerged with a tougher stance and independence from Arab control following the 1967 War.

In November 1967, the United Nations passed Resolution 242, envisioning, as a basis for future peace negotiations, Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab lands in exchange for peace and Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist. The resolution left ambiguous how much land Israel should withdraw from. The resolution pointed out the need for settling the Palestinian refugee problem, but did not specify the rights of Palestinians to a national homeland -- a point at the core of the PLO's refusal to accept Resolution 242 as the basis of negotiations.

In 1973, Egypt and Syria launched an attack against Israel to regain lands they had lost. The attack came on Yom Kippur (the holiest Jewish holiday), catching the Israelis off-guard. The Israelis managed to fight off the Arab armies. Neither side gained or lost a great deal of territory, but the losses in troops and supplies were heavy. One result of the fighting was that the U.S. became a mediator between the Egyptians and Israelis. The U.S. succeeded in separating Egyptian and Israeli forces and re-opening the Suez Canal for navigation. Diplomatic efforts continued through 1975; at that point, they were deadlocked.

<u>The U.S. Proposal</u>

Soon after Jimmy Carter became the U.S. President in January 1977, there was much discussion about calling an international conference to negotiate peace agreements between the Arabs and Israelis. The Carter Administration proposed a plan calling for: 1) Israeli withdrawal from almost all territories captured during the 1967 War, including the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, and West Bank areas; 2) universal Arab acceptance of Israel as a nation; and 3) the creation of a national homeland for the Palestinians. In the U.S. view, this plan was fair because it involved sacrifices as well as gains for all of the parties involved. However, opposition to the U.S. plan emerged from many sides.

Israel objected to any participation in an international conference by the Palestine Liberation Organization on the grounds that the PLO's stated goal was to destroy the state of Israel and that the PLO was a terrorist organization. Israel was

also adamantly opposed to surrendering territory for a Palestinian homeland. The Israeli government argued that it needed to maintain control over the occupied territories for security reasons. Some in the government believed the occupied territories could be used as a bargaining chip to gain PLO recognition of Israel's right to exist. Others believed the territories should not be returned because the land has religious meaning. The new Israeli government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin was at that time developing Jewish settlements on those captured territories the Carter plan proposed it give back to Egypt.

The Arabs and the PLO objected to Israel's condition that the PLO be excluded from the talks. The Arabs and the PLO argued that the PLO was the authentic voice of the Palestinian people. The U.S. stated that the reason it would not talk to the PLO was that the PLO did not accept Resolution 242, and therefore did not accept Israel's right to exist. The U.S. also argued that the PLO was a terrorist organization.

Events in the Middle East took a dramatic turn when Egypt's President Anwar Sadat visited Israel in November 1977. In his address to the Israeli Knesset (parliament), Sadat stressed his desire for peace and acknowledged Israel's right to exist as a nation. He also declared that peace required the surrender by Israel of all occupied territories and Israeli recognition of the Palestinians' right to a homeland. Sadat's action was for the most part condemned by other Arab leaders. Nevertheless, many people considered the prospects for peace improved as a result of Sadat's 1977 visit, which marked the beginning of what came to be called the Camp David negotiations.

Direct contacts between Israel and Egypt were broken off in January 1978 after the two governments were unable to reach an agreement over two key issues: 1) Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai (captured during the 1967 War) and 2) the future of Palestinian Arabs living on the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. By midsummer it appeared that the peace initiative had run out of steam, despite American efforts to keep the negotiations going. In this discouraging atmosphere, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's announcement on August 8, 1978 that Sadat and Begin had accepted invitations to meet with Carter in early September came as a big surprise.

Glossary of Terms

annexed: to incorporate territory within the domain of a state

Arabs: anyone who speaks Arabic as his or her native language; a citizen of an Arab-speaking nation; a person who identifies with Arab culture. There are about 160 million Arabs throughout the world, most of whom live in the Middle East and North Africa.

assimilate: to absorb into the cultural tradition of a population or group

exile: forced or voluntary absence from one's country or home

homeland: a state or area set aside for people of a particular national, cultural, or racial origin.

Jews: a religious group; a national/political group; an ethnic-minority dispersed around the world. There are about 3 million Jews living in Israel; about 6 million in the U.S.; and about 8 million more throughout the rest of the world.

mandate: an order or commission granted to some agent (such as a nation) for the establishment of a government over a former colony or other conquered territory

mediator: an agent who works between parties to promote compromise, reconciliation, or settlement of differences

nationalize: to give control or ownership of to the national government

occupied: to take and hold possession of

Palestine: a term which typically indicates the territory currently called "Israel," the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. Total land area is about 10,000 square miles.

Palestinians: Arabs who lived in Palestine before the influx of European Jewish settlers came in the late 19th century; an Arab whose family traditionally lived in Palestine. There are about 5.1 million Palestinians worldwide. About 600,000 Palestinians today are citizens of the state of Israel; about 900,000 live in the occupied West Bank; about 450,000 in the Gaza Strip; and about 400,000 in Lebanon. Over two million more Palestinians live in Jordan, Kuwait, other Arab states, Europe, and North America. Jordan is the only Arab state that has granted citizenship to the Palestinians in its country. Many Palestinians live in refugee camps operated by the United

Nations; these camps are located in Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

refugees: people who flee to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution

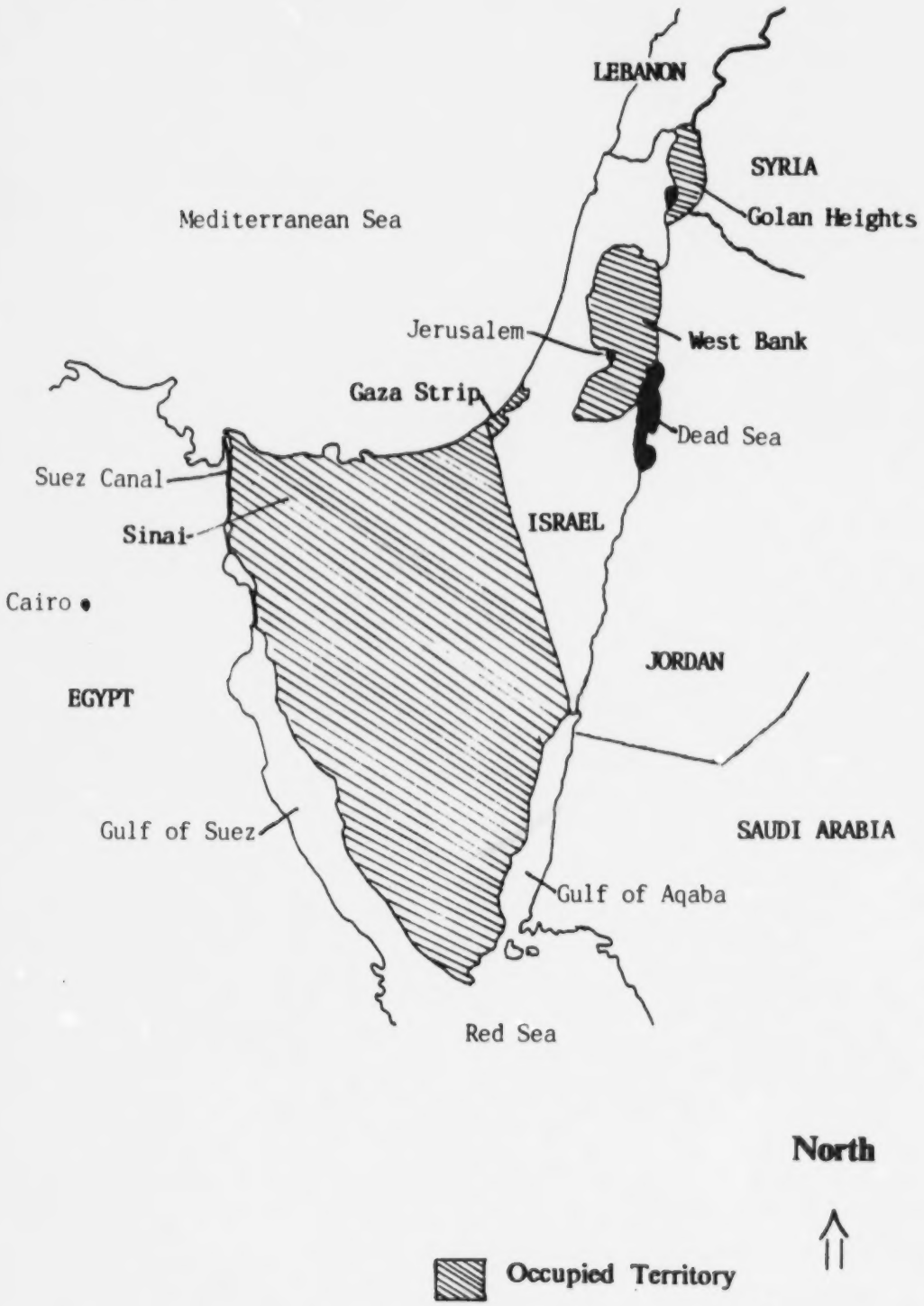
settlement: a place or region newly settled; a small village

truce: an agreement by opposing forces to suspend fighting

usurp: to seize and hold in possession by force or without right

Zion: a term which typically indicates the territory currently called "Israel," the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank.

Territories Occupied by Israel during the 1967 War



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CASE STUDY: CAMP DAVID ACCORDS
Lesson Three

Introduction

This two-and-a-half day lesson uses the Camp David Accords as a case study to explore the question of why nations choose to negotiate. After reading some background information about the Arabs and the Jews in the Middle East, students discuss some elements of the Arab-Israeli conflict. They then participate in mock negotiations modeled after the Camp David negotiations, after which students discover what actually happened in the 1979 peace talks.

Materials

- one copy for 3/5 of class of Handout #9A: Egyptian Negotiation Guidelines
- one copy for 3/5 of class of Handout #9B: Israeli Negotiation Guidelines
- one copy per student of Handout #10: The Camp David Accords
- overhead transparency of Overhead #2: Conflict Analysis
- overhead projector and screen

Objectives

In this lesson, students will:

- o use maps to locate places in the Middle East (see end of Lesson Two)
- o understand some of the important events in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict
- o discuss the events leading up to the Camp David Accords
- o use maps to become familiar with the geography of Israel and the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war
- o focus on negotiated compromise as a method of international conflict management/resolution by participating in a simulation of the Camp David negotiations
- o analyze the following elements of conflict in the Middle East: the goals of Israel and Egypt; the conflict management/resolution method chosen by Israel and Egypt; and the results of the Camp David negotiations
- o discuss some of the alternatives available to Egypt and Israel before and after the Camp David Accords

Procedures: Day 4

Historical Background to the Camp David Accords: 20 minutes

1. Briefly review the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict discussed in Handout #8. Ask students the following questions:

   - o What are the important events and perspectives?
   - o Are there other events in Arab history and Jewish history which were not on Handout #8 but which may be relevant to the discussion?
   - o What events in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict could have more than one interpretation?
   - o Is understanding the historical, economic, social, and political background of Israel and Arab nations useful in understanding the conflict? How could different views about one side's history lead analysts to different opinions about why the conflict began?

2. While the Arab-Israeli conflict appears to be a fight over a relatively small piece of land, the conflict is actually much more complex. Ask students for other factors which may be sources of conflict between the Arabs and Jews. The following perspectives on the sources of conflict or potential conflict should be discussed:

   - o Many Arabs consider Palestine to be the one remaining Arab land still controlled by a foreign people. From the 16th to 20th century, the Arabs, except for those in parts of Arabia and Morocco, lived under Turkish rule as part of the Ottoman Empire. Some analysts believe that the Arab-Israeli wars resulted in part from the deep desire among Arabs to rid the Middle East of any non-Arab influence. For many Arabs, Israel represents Western culture which is based on a different set of values than their own. Some analysts believe the Arabs' distrust of the Israelis stems from bad experiences in the past with Europeans. Though many Arab governments and their people believe that Israelis hold a permanent presence in the Middle East, many of these Arabs also believe that the danger of this Israeli presence is symbolized by the plight of the homeless Palestinians.
   - o To many Arabs, a source of conflict is that Israel represents an invasion of superior military technology.

Ask students why this might be threatening to the Arabs. Why is such technology important to the Israelis? Is such technology stabilizing or destabilizing?

- Some argue that religious differences between the Islamic and Jewish religions are another source of conflict. (However, it is important to note that the two religious groups also share some beliefs and values -- Islam grew out of Judeo-Christian beliefs. Monotheism, the belief in one god, is a common link between Judaism, Christianity and Islam.)

  Ask students how different religious beliefs and values might lead to conflict.

- Some argue that rights to water resources is an important source of conflict. The scarcity of water in the Middle East limits growth of Middle Eastern economies, both agricultural and industrial.

- Both the Israelis and the Palestinians make historical, religious, and legal claims to Israel/Palestine. One of the Palestinian claims is that Palestine has been Arab since the Arab-Muslim conquest in 638 A.D. One of the Israeli claims is that Zion was Jewish from the time of Joshua's conquest around 1100 B.C. until the destruction of Jerusalem in 135 A.D.

- Some argue that rights to the Suez Canal and related lanes of navigation are an important source of conflict.

Introduction to the Camp David Accords: 10 minutes

1. To provide a transition into the study of the Camp David Accords, inform students that this lesson will focus on negotiations as one method which was used in an attempt to manage/resolve part of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

   Tell students that after Jimmy Carter was elected U.S. President in 1977, there was much discussion about calling an international conference to negotiate peace agreements between the Arabs and Israelis. In November 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat visited Israel to express his desire for peace to the Israeli government. In 1979, after debate over the key issues to be addressed by a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, the Egyptian and Israeli governments accepted invitations to meet with Carter at Camp David, Maryland, for a **summit meeting** (a conference of heads of government). The 13-day meeting concluded with the announcement that Sadat and Begin had negotiated two frameworks for peace in the Middle East.

2. Ask students what possible interests the U.S. and President Carter might have had in mediating a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. (Some perspectives include: (1) The U.S. wanted to ensure the stability of the Middle East in order to guarantee an uninterrupted flow of Middle Eastern oil to the U.S. (2) The U.S. wanted to have both Egypt and Israel as allies. In order to accomplish this, Egypt and Israel would have to agree to end their state of war. (3) The U.S. believed that by involving itself in the resolution/management of Middle East conflict, it was preventing the Soviet Union from gaining or expanding a foot-hold in the region. (4) President Carter felt that his involvement in the peace agreements would add prestige to his presidency and the United States. (5) President Carter believed that for humanitarian reasons the U.S. had to involve itself in the Egyptian-Israeli conflict.)

3. Ask students why they think negotiations between Egypt and Israel were begun in 1977 and not earlier or later. Did internal political or economic factors influence each nation's decision to negotiate? (Some perspectives include: (1) Egypt's relative success in the 1973 war erased much of the humiliation of the previous three defeats. They could, therefore, negotiate for peace without losing face or appearing cowardly. (2) After Egypt proved to be a serious threat in the 1973 war, Israel felt an urgent need to negotiate for peace with Egypt. (3) It took a unique leader like Sadat to initiate the peace process. (4) It took an outside influence such as Carter to initiate the peace process. (5) Since February 1971 Sadat had said that he was prepared to sign a peace treaty with Israel if the U.S. would persuade Israel to evacuate Egyptian territory occupied since the 1967 war. Perhaps neither the Israelis nor the Americans believed Sadat was serious. The Nixon administration was also preoccupied with Vietnam and Watergate. Carter was the first president to take Sadat seriously. (6) Egypt preferred to work with the U.S. rather than in a setting involving the Soviet Union. (7) The economies of both Egypt and Israel were weak from heavy military spending. By negotiating peace, these military expenditures could be cut.)

Preparation for the Peace Talks Simulation: 20 minutes

1. Inform students that on Day 5 they will role-play participants in the Camp David peace talks.

   Explain that during **negotiations** the contending parties meet together and try to work out their differences through direct communication. The role of the neutral **mediator** is to consider the various points of view and make suggestions toward a solution.

2. Assign 2/5 of the class to play the role of an Egyptian leader, 2/5 of the class to play the role of an Israeli leader, and 1/5 of the class to play the role of a U.S. mediator.

3. Have all students role-playing Egyptians meet in one group, all students role-playing Israelis meet in a second group, and all students role-playing U.S. mediators meet in a third group.

   Distribute Handout #9A to the group playing Egyptian leaders, Handout #9B to the group playing Israeli leaders, and both Handouts #9A and #9B to the group playing U.S. mediators. Explain to students that these handouts outline some of the participants' goals for the talks. Be sure that students recognize that the events surrounding the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli negotiations were extremely complex; the guidelines offer simplified and hypothetical versions of each side's interests.

4. Have the two groups representing the Egyptians and Israelis answer the questions below. As the two groups discuss these questions, each student should write the answers and other relevant notes on their guidelines or a separate sheet of paper to be referred to during the next day's negotiation simulations. (You may want to write these questions on the chalkboard.)

   - How does your group define peace for your country and the Middle East region?
   - What is the main conflict and cause of that conflict, as far as your nation is concerned?
   - Does your group agree with the negotiating priorities outlined?
   - Based on your reading and class discussion, can you think of any other goals that might be added to your guidelines?

   Note: Students can change or make additions to their goals, individually or as a group.

   Have students representing U.S. mediators answer the questions below. As the discussion evolves, each student should write the answers and other relevant notes on their guidelines or a separate sheet of paper to be referred to during the next day's negotiation simulations. (You may want to write these questions on the chalkboard.)

- o On which issues would you expect each side to be most likely to compromise? On which issues would you expect each side to be least likely to compromise?

- o As neutral participants, what might you suggest as a fair agreement between the two sides?

Note: Students should use the map from Handout #8 as a reference while discussing their guidelines. It is important that they understand this map which depicts Israel's territorial gains after the 1967 war, since their negotiations will revolve around issues concerning the Israeli-occupied territories.

5. Circulate between the groups to clarify any questions that students have.

Procedures: Day 5

Peace Talks Simulation: 30 minutes

1. Remind students that today they are going to conduct mock negotiations modeled after the Camp David peace talks.

2. Assign students to five-person negotiating teams. Each team should include: two students who were assigned the previous day to role-play Egyptian leaders; two students who were assigned to role-play Israeli leaders; and one student who was assigned to role-play a U.S. mediator.

3. Inform the teams that they will have 25 minutes to negotiate. Tell the class that the mediator should record any agreements reached and that he or she will be responsible for reporting the results of the group's negotiations to the rest of the class.

4. Call the class to order after 25 minutes; students should remain in their negotiating groups.

Concluding the Peace Talks Simulation: 20 minutes

1. Have the mediators of each group share any agreements their groups reached with the rest of the class.

2. To conclude the mock negotiation exercise, ask students the following questions:

   - o Was it difficult to come to an agreement? Why or why not?

   - o Define **compromise**. (Possible responses include: mutual concessions; giving in; mutual conciliation.) Did groups compromise? Give examples.

- Does the class find some of the groups' agreements more acceptable than others?

- For those groups that did not reach an agreement, why was an agreement not reached?

- How did you feel during the simulation and how do you feel now about the process? What general lessons did you learn about negotiations?

3. Distribute to the class Handout #10 which describes the actual outcomes of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations. Allow students any remaining class time to read the handout. Have them finish the reading as homework in preparation for the next day's concluding discussion of the Camp David negotiations.

Procedures: Day 6 (first half)

Concluding Discussion on the Camp David Accords: 20 minutes

1. Briefly discuss the main points of Handout #10, noting what the Israelis and Egyptians agreed to and the results of the negotiations. Ask students why members in each of these groups would be in favor of and opposed to the Accords: the Israelis, the Egyptians, the Arabs, and the Palestinians.

   Return to the mock negotiations of Day 5. Given what students now know about the Camp David Accords, how were the mock negotiations simplified? How did they not adequately represent reality? How did they adequately represent reality? Was the negotiations exercise useful? Why or why not? The results of the Accords will be discussed again below.

2. Display Overhead #2 and lead students through an analysis of the Egptian-Israeli conflict until a few years after the Camp David Accords were signed. The questions and possible responses are as follows:

   - Who were the participants? (Answer: Egypt and Israel. Note that the United States was not a direct participant in the conflict but was a participant in the Camp David negotiations.)

   - What was the conflict? What were the goals of each participant? (Some perspectives include: (1) Egypt sought to reduce the military threat posed by Israel. Egypt hoped to gain back the lands lost to Israel in previous wars. (2) Israel sought to reduce the military threat posed by Egypt. Israel hoped to have its existence as a nation officially recognized by a strong Arab nation like Egypt.)

- What method of management or resolution was chosen? (Answer: Negotiation with a third party mediator.)

- What were some results of the actions taken? (Some perspectives include: Israel and Egypt established diplomatic and commercial ties; Sadat and Begin both received the Nobel Peace Prize; the state of war between Egypt and Israel was ended; the PLO and some Arab states condemned Sadat for his actions; Begin received criticism from some hard-line Israelis for giving up the Sinai; "autonomy" for the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip remained unresolved; the Israelis increased Jewish settlement of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; several problems went untouched, including the Palestinian refugee problem, the Golan Heights issue, and the issue of Jerusalem.)

- How could the results be viewed as a win-win outcome? (Possible responses include: The Accords have preserved peace between Israel and Egypt.)

  How could the results be viewed as a win-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: (1) Egypt gained the Sinai while Israel lost the Sinai. (2) Israel's right to exist as a nation was recognized by Egypt, a leading Arab nation, but Egypt lost Arab support.)

  How could the results be viewed as a lose-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: (1) Egypt was isolated from other Arab nations and Israel lost the Sinai. (2) Egypt and Israel failed to resolve the issue of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, leaving open the possibility that instability in these territories would affect Israeli and regional security.)

  You might want to have students brainstorm all the wins and losses for each participant.

  Ask students which of these views do they judge to be accurate or most accurate. (Responses will vary.)

- Did the outcomes affect any other parties? If so, in what way were they affected? (Some perspectives include: (1) The Soviet Union may have believed that it was losing influence in the Middle East. (2) The PLO may have gained additional support since Egypt was unable to further the Palestinian cause. (3) The PLO may have lost influence or the hope of gaining influence since it was not included in the negotiations. (4) Given that a peace treaty existed between Egypt and Israel, Israel may have felt free to attack Lebanon with impunity in 1982. (5) The Palestinians

living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were affected because Jewish settlements increased in these territories. Often the settlers were religious zealots who believed the Palestinians had no right to the biblical land. (6) The Palestinians were affected because the increased Jewish settlements made it difficult to resolve the Palestinian autonomy issue through a land-for-peace deal. (7) The U.S. was affected positively because Carter was seen as a peacemaker. The U.S. may have guaranteed its role as a mediator in future Middle East conflicts. (8) The U.S. may have been seen as inept because the Accords failed to resolve the Palestinian question.)

- Did the participants manage or resolve the conflict? (Some perspectives include: (1) The conflict was resolved because the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was fully implemented. (2) The conflict was resolved because the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was fully implemented. Even though the Framework for Peace in the Middle East was never implemented it, the framework is irrelevant to the discussion of Egyptian-Israeli conflict because the Palestinian issue was not a real source of conflict between Egypt and Israel. Neither Egypt nor Israel seriously wanted to resolve the issue of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While Egypt may have claimed that it wanted to see autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, these claims were merely for propaganda purposes. (3) The conflict was managed because only half of the Accords were actually implemented. The part of the Accords that was truly significant in terms of sacrifice and bringing lasting peace to the region -- the Framework for Peace in the Middle East -- was never implemented. The Israelis never wanted to see this framework implemented. (4) The conflict was managed because most of the major conflicts between the Arabs and the Israelis were left untouched or unresolved by the Accords.)

- What are some alternative conflict management or resolution methods that were used in the past in this conflict situation? What other methods could have been used in this conflict situation? (Some perspectives include: war between the Egyptians and Israelis; war between the Israelis and the Jordanians; war between the Israelis and the Palestinians in the occupied territories; threats of violence; binding arbitration; negotiations in which the PLO participated; an international conference including representatives from several additional countries; the creation of a Palestinian homeland in all or part of the occupied territories; one of the participants could have changed its goals in such a way that it would have withdrawn from the conflict; the Palestinians could have

given up their goal to gain autonomy or establish a homeland.)

3. Discuss the following points regarding the results of the Camp David Accords:

   - What was unique about Camp David? (Students should focus on the negotiation process, the agreements, the assumptions each participant had to make, and comparisons with other negotiations and other conflict resolution/ management methods.)

   - In what ways did Camp David work towards peace? How did it succeed? How did it fail? (Students should focus on such concepts as conflict, security, normalization, dialogue, fear, and peace process.)

   - To what extent were the shortcomings of the Accords due to lack of foresight or unforeseeable circumstances? If you could re-write the Accords today knowing what you know, what changes might you have suggested at the time of Camp David?

4. Inform students that the final case study will be about Gandhi and how his philosophy of nonviolent resistance was used to manage/resolve an international conflict between India and Great Britain. The remainder of Day 6 will be spent on Lesson Four.

HANDOUT #9A

EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES

The following is an outline of some of your goals, as Egyptian leaders, for negotiating a peace agreement with Israel. These guidelines are a reference for you and should not be shown to the Israeli representatives in your group. You are to discover the Israelis' goals and their willingness to compromise on various issues by asking them questions and proposing exchanges.

As you negotiate, keep in mind that there exists a long history of hostility between Israel and its Arab neighbors. While your goal is to make advances toward a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, you should work toward an agreement that is in Egypt's best interest.

Highest Priorities

- Your highest priority as an Egyptian leader is to regain the Sinai Peninsula, which Israel captured from Egypt during the 1967 War. (See map, Handout #8.) This calls for the withdrawal of Israeli airfields and settlements (villages) from the Sinai. You consider this a necessary condition for reaching a peace agreement. (In other words, on this issue you are not willing to compromise.)

- Another high priority for you as an Arab leader is the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. Since there are populations of Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, your goal is to establish Palestinian autonomy (self-government or self-rule) in those two areas. (See map, Handout #8.)

Other Priorities

- You wish to regain Arab control over part of Jerusalem, which was captured by Israel in the 1967 War. Before 1967, Jerusalem was divided in half, with one half of the city ruled by Jews and the other half ruled by Arabs. Israel currently regards Jerusalem as its capital despite United Nations resolutions proposing that Jerusalem be an internationalized city, ruled by neither Jews nor Arabs, since it is a holy city for several religious groups (Jews, Muslims, and Christians).

- You feel that Israel should repay Egypt for damages caused by the operations of Israel's armed forces and the exploitation of natural resources in the occupied territories.

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ISRAELI NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES

The following is an outline of some of your goals as Israeli leaders for negotiating a peace agreement with Egypt. These guidelines are a reference for you and should not be shown to the Egyptian representatives in your group. You are to discover the Egyptians' priorities and willingness to compromise on various issues by asking them questions and proposing exchanges.

As you negotiate, keep in mind that there exists a long history of hostility between Israel and its Arab neighbors. While your goal is to make advances toward a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, you should work toward an agreement that is in Israel's best interest.

Highest Priorities:

- Since Egypt was Israel's major military adversary in the 1957 and 1973 Wars, it is Israel's highest priority that Egypt agree to end the state of war between Egypt and Israel and that Egypt accept Israel's right to exist as a nation. You consider this a necessary condition for reaching a peace agreement. (In other words, on this issue you are not willing to compromise.)

- For security reasons, it is important that you maintain control over territories occupied during the 1967 War. (See map, Handout #8.)

  a) At the time of these negotiations, there are Palestinian Arabs living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, under the rule of the Israelis who have occupied those regions since the 1967 War. You believe that the Palestinians pose a serious threat to Israel's security since they oppose Israel's existence as a nation. You consider it very important that you maintain control of those territories by having both troops and Israeli settlements (villages) on the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

  b) You do not want to remove Israeli airfields and settlements from the Sinai, which is an area larger than the rest of Israel.

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c) It is important that you maintain control over Jerusalem, which was captured by Israel during the 1967 War. Israel claims Jerusalem as its capital; however this has not been recognized by Arab nations, the United Nations, or the U.S. because Jerusalem is a holy city to several religious groups (Jews, Muslims, and Christians).

- Another high priority goal for Israel is the right of free passage of Israeli ships through Egyptian-controlled waterways (the Gulf of Suez, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Tiran, and the Gulf of Aqaba).

Other Priorities

- You would like to establish normal diplomatic relations with Egypt. This would call for the exchange of ambassadors between Israel and Egypt.

- You also hope to establish commercial relations with Egypt. For example, you would like to buy oil from Egypt.

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

In September 1978, Carter, Sadat, and Begin participated in a 13-day summit meeting at Camp David, Maryland. After nearly two weeks of intense and sometimes heated discussions conducted in complete secrecy, Carter, Begin, and Sadat announced and signed two major peace documents during a White House ceremony. The two documents, titled "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel," and "Framework for Peace in the Middle East," outlined areas of agreed compromise and left the more difficult problems to be settled in later negotiations.

According to the "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel," an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was to be signed within three months. The treaty called for (1) a complete Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula; (2) United Nations peace-keeping forces in specified areas of the Sinai; (3) Egyptian recognition of Israel's right to exist as a nation; (4) an exchange of embassies between Israel and Egypt; (5) the right of free passage by Israeli ships through the Gulf of Suez, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Tiran, and the Gulf of Aqaba; and (6) the establishment of diplomatic and other normal commercial and cultural relations between Egypt and Israel. The peace treaty was signed on March 26, 1979.

The "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" documented a somewhat ambiguous agreement to establish autonomy or local administration for Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for a five-year period. The agreement called for Israeli withdrawal of its military rule of the two areas within that period. It also proposed negotiations after the five-year period (to be conducted by Egypt, Israel, representatives of the local Palestinian inhabitants, and possibly Jordan) to decide the ultimate status of those territories. The framework left the meaning of autonomy open to question; the Egyptians interpreted autonomy to mean statehood while the Israelis interpreted it to mean limited self-rule.

<u>After Camp David</u>

The main outcome of Camp David was that the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was implemented. Israel's ships were allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. Ambassadors were exchanged and the two countries agreed to distribute each other's newspapers. The Sinai was returned to Egypt in 1982. For their efforts toward

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peace, Begin and Sadat both received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. To some, Camp David represented a major breakthrough in the long story of the Arab-Israeli conflict and was a step toward relieving the ongoing tension in the Middle East.

Criticism of the Accords soon emerged from many sides. It was argued that the major disputes between the Israelis and the Palestinians and Arabs had not been addressed. Such issues included the status of Jerusalem, the issue of the Golan Heights, and the issue of the Palestinian refugees. An additional criticism was that the meaning of Palestinian autonomy was unclear and still had to be negotiated. Many Arabs accused Sadat of betraying the Palestinians since the Accords did not resolve the Palestinian problem. The PLO did not accept any agreement made on its behalf.

Almost immediately negotiations on autonomy for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip broke down. One of the reasons the autonomy talks broke down was because the Arabs objected to the fact that Israel was accelerating Jewish settlement of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Israelis argued that the Framework was ambiguous concerning the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Outside analysts give the following reasons for these increased Israeli settlements: (1) some Israelis believe the land has religious meaning; (2) some in the Israeli government believe that Israel's security will be enhanced if there are Jewish settlements in these areas; (3) perhaps Begin had to appease domestic critics of the Accords; and (4) perhaps the Israeli government never had any intention of returning the occupied territories, and the settlements would seem to make it difficult or impossible to agree to a deal wherey the occupied lands would be exchanged for peace with the Palestinians. Some outside observers argued that increased Jewish settlements violated the spirit of the Accords since Israel was moving away from, rather than toward, a resolution of the Palestinian issue. Many Israelis argue that the settlements did not violate the spirit of the Accords since the Accords were ambiguous about the meaning of Palestinian autonomy.

Violent protests of religious-nationalist extremists within Israel displayed the growing determination of some sections of Israeli society to resist compromise with the enemy at any cost. Similarly, though Egypt may have made peace with Israel, other Arab nations made it very clear that they were not prepared to scale down their hostility toward Israel. The PLO did not waiver from its goal to liberate Palestine and "liquidate the Zionist state."

CASE STUDY: GANDHI AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE
Lesson Four

Introduction

This two-day lesson examines Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance. Students will gather information in the library about Gandhi and the British-Indian. They will share the information they find with the class and then read a speech given by Gandhi. Students will analyze the British-Indian conflict in order to focus on the role of nonviolent resistance in conflict resolution/management. Students will examine the reasons for and against the use of nonviolent resistance as a method for managing/resolving international conflicts.

Materials

- Reference #2: Background on Gandhi and the British-Indian Conflict (teacher use only)
- world map (not provided in this unit)
- overhead transparency of Overhead #2: Conflict Analysis
- overhead projector and screen
- one copy per student of Handout #11: "An Appeal for Nonviolence by Mohandas K. Gandhi"

Objectives

In this lesson, students will:

- o research in pairs background on Gandhi and the British-Indian conflict and later share this information
- o use a map to determine the location of South Africa, India, and Great Britain
- o read a speech given by Gandhi
- o briefly analyze the following elements of the British-Indian conflict: the goals of Great Britain and the Indians, the conflict management/resolution methods chosen by the British and the Indians, and the results of the methods chosen
- o discuss Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance
- o distinguish between nonviolent resistance and passive resistance
- o discuss two different categorizations of conflict resolution/ management methods: violence vs. nonviolence and action vs. inaction

- consider the pros and cons of nonviolent resistance for resolving/managing international conflicts

Procedures: Day 6 (second half)

Introduction to Gandhi: 30 minutes

1. Inform students that this final case study will be about Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolent resistance. The application of Gandhi's ideas to manage/resolve an international conflict will also be discussed.

2. To initiate a brief discussion about Gandhi, determine what students already know by asking:

   - Who was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi? (Possible responses include: A political and spiritual leader who led India in a nonviolent struggle for independence from Great Britain.)

     By what name is he better known? (Answer: Mahatma Gandhi.)

   - When did Gandhi live? (Answer: 1869 - 1948.)

3. The remainder of Day 6 will be spent on a fact-finding activity. Have students go to the library and work in pairs to find three facts or pieces of information about Mahatma Gandhi that they think are important and interesting. Divide students into groups of two. Assign each pair of students to research one of the following topics:

   (a) Gandhi's childhood and family

   (b) Gandhi's work as a civil rights leader in South Africa

   (c) Gandhi's philosophy of **Satyagraha** (nonviolent action)

   (d) Gandhi's role as a political leader in India and examples of nonviolent protests that he led against Great Britain

   (e) General background information on the goals and actions of Great Britain and the Indians in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s relevant to India's struggle for independence

   (f) Gandhi's history of fasting and his reasons for fasting

   (g) Gandhi's religious beliefs

   Inform students that they will be sharing the information they gather with the rest of the class on Day 7, so they should write down the facts that they find and bring them to class the following day.

Procedures: Day 7

Background on Gandhi and the British-Indian Conflict: 20 minutes

1. Have students share the information that they found about Gandhi and the conflict between Britain and the Indians.

   As students bring up locations of various places in their presentations, point out these locations on a world map. Be sure to point out Great Britain, India, and South Africa.

   In addition to checking that students have completed their assignments by presenting information in each of the seven topical areas (described on the previous page), you should also insure that their information includes most of the highlights of Reference #2. You may want to read students some of the quotations or other information from Reference #2.

   Note: students should be able to easily find the information required on the seven topics described at the end of the lesson plan for Day 6. Reference #2 is not intended to be a summary of the kinds of information students will find on each of the topics but rather is intended to highlight interesting or important points on only a few of the topics.

2. Focus on the British-Indian conflict by asking students the following questions:

   - What events in the history of the British-Indian conflict could have more than one interpretation?
   - Is understanding the historical, economic, social, and political background of Great Britain and India useful in understanding the conflict? How could different views about one side's history lead analysts to different opinions about why the conflict began?
   - Did internal political or economic factors influence each participant's decision to act as it did? If yes, how?

The Conflict Between Britain and the Indians: 30 minutes

1. Distribute Handout #11 to all students. Inform the class that they will be reading excerpts from a speech by Gandhi which was broadcast over the radio to the U.S. in 1931.

2. Have one student read the speech aloud.

3. Ask students whether they have any questions about the passage. Define any words that students don't understand. Ask students to summarize what Gandhi's message was.

4. Divide students into groups of five. Display Overhead #2. Students should work in their groups to analyze the conflict between Great Britain and the Indians. Give students about 15 minutes to complete their group analysis.

   For the final 10 minutes of the period, review the questions and possible responses as follows:

   - Who were the participants? (Answer: the Indians and Great Britain.)

   - What was the conflict? What were the goals of each participant? (Some perspectives include: Indians wanted to gain independence from Britain; the British wanted to maintain rule over India.)

   - What method of management or resolution was chosen? (Answers: Gandhi and his followers chose methods of nonviolent resistance including boycotts, demonstrations, fasting, and civil disobedience. Sometimes those calling themselves Gandhi's followers used violent means of protest. The British arrested and imprisoned Indian protesters. Both parties engaged in negotiations.)

   - What were some results of the actions taken? (Some perspectives include: India gained independence from Britain; India was divided into two countries, creating India and Pakistan; nonviolent resistance was demonstrated to be a practical and moral method of conflict resolution; violence between Hindus and Muslims following the partitioning of India.)

   - How could the results be viewed as a win-win outcome? (Possible responses include: India gained independence; Britain could grant India independence gracefully since Britain was not subjected to the national humiliation often associated with a military defeat and Britain could claim that its rule laid the essential groundwork for India's modernization.)

     How could the results be viewed as a win-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: India gained independence; Britain lost its rule over India and the economic benefits which resulted from such rule.)

     How could the results be viewed as a lose-lose outcome? (Possible responses include: (1) After India and Pakistan were partitioned there was Hindu-Muslim rioting; Britain lost its rule over India. (2) India's economic and social problems grew so much worse under the destructive rule of the British that it would take decades for India to recover; Britain lost its rule over India.)

You might want to have students brainstorm all the wins of losses for each participant.

Ask students which of these views do they judge to be accurate or most accurate. (Responses will vary.)

- Did the outcomes affect any other parties? If so, in what way were they affected? (Some perspectives include: Other groups seeking independence may have been encouraged; nations and individuals may have been encouraged to try Gandhi's example of nonviolent resistance; the long-term relationship between India and Pakistan was marked by the bitter memories of the partitioning.)

- Did the participants manage or resolve the conflict? (Some perspectives include: (1) The conflict was managed because India's many economic and social problems remained after the British left. (2) The conflict was resolved because the Indians achieved their goal and Britain was persuaded that its goal was not legitimate.)

- What are some alternative conflict management or resolution methods that were used in the past in this conflict situation? What other methods could have been used? (Some perspectives include: war; threats of war; Indians could have compromised in their goal of gaining complete independence from Britain.)

5. Announce to students that half of the next day's discussion will focus on Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance.

Procedures: Day 8 (first half)

Nonviolent Resistance: 30 minutes

1. Remind students that for the first part of the discussion on Day 8 the class will concentrate on Gandhi's philosophy of **nonviolent resistance**. Ask students the following questions:

   - What are the unique features of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance? That is, how would you define nonviolent resistance? (Possible responses include: that action is called for; that the resister is supposed to convert or persuade the opponent; that physical violence is not condoned; that nonviolence becomes the norm; that resisters extend respect to their adversaries; that creative, win-win solutions are sought; that strategy and tactics are emphasized; that it is believed that the political power of an opponent could be dissolved through acts of resistance; that nonviolence is not seen as cowardly; that self-suffering is encouraged because the

sufferer will gain respect and secure results; that self-suffering is raised to the status of moral sanction.)

- o What were the obstacles to practicing nonviolent resistance in India? What made the practice of nonviolent resistance in India easy? (Responses will vary.)

- o Why was Gandhi against the use of violence? (Possible responses include: Destruction and harm are the necessary results of violence; violence is self-destructive.)

  What do you think about these arguments? (Responses will vary.)

- o In India, Gandhi argued that nonviolent resistance was not only the right method but also the most effective method.

  What do you think about these moral and practical arguments for nonviolent resistance?

2. Discuss with students two types of resistance: nonviolent resistance and **passive resistance**. Give students the following information if the class hasn't yet raised these points.

   - o To many analysts, passive resistance implies being submissive and receiving or enduring the opponents' actions without defiance. The sufferer resists only psychologically.

   - o To many analysts, nonviolent resistance involves actions on the part of the resisting individuals. The actions are intended to highlight the points of confrontation and convince the opponent to see things from the perspective of the resisting group. The resisters do not use physical violence.

   Note: there are many differing definitions for these two terms. We include here only one definition of each to simplify the discussion.

   Ask students for examples of passive resistance and examples of nonviolent resistance, using these definitions. (Possible examples of passive resistance include: ignoring the conflict; avoiding the conflict; submitting to an authority figure; cowardice. Possible examples of nonviolent resistance include: workers stop working; police don't carry out repression; citizens may disobey laws; people withholding cooperation; nonviolent protests.)

3. Consider Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance in relation to conflicts generally and the two other case studies in this curriculum unit. Ask students:

   - What are some examples of conflicts in which one or both participants practiced nonviolent resistance?

   - In general, what are the obstacles to practicing nonviolent resistance? What aspects of nonviolent resistance make it easy to practice?

   - What conditions must exist, if any, before nonviolent methods are possible options as methods for international conflict resolution/management. (Some perspectives include: there must be a special leader who can gain the support of many within and outside of the country; the potential practitioners of nonviolent resistance must be willing to be educated about the process of resistance; the people must be patient because nonviolent methods can take a great deal of time and energy; the group toward which the nonviolence is directed must have a conscience.)

   - What are some reasons in favor of using nonviolent resistance in conflicts? (Some perspectives include: it is economically cheaper because violence often incurs high cost in terms of military spending; it is less likely to incur the loss of many lives; it is more likely to result in a win-win outcome; it is more likely to resolve the conflict rather than manage it; it is morally justified.)

   - What are some reasons against using violence in conflicts? (Some perspectives include: violence results in high losses in terms of lives and property; violence always results in a lose-lose outcome; violence only manages conflicts; violence is never morally justifiable.)

   - What are some reasons in favor of using violence in conflicts? (Some perspectives include: when the other participant uses violence, it is justifiable or practically necessary to use violence to defend oneself, to preserve a legitimate state, or to retaliate; violence is justified by its contributions to the development of a cause or social structure; to demonstrate superiority; to punish; to deter; to elicit obedience; to thwart the participant using greater violence, where the abstention from violence would amount to allowing larger violence; when there is no nonviolent way to produce the same result which is considered to be a moral necessity; as a last resort against incorrigible evil.)

   - What are some reasons against using nonviolent resistance in conflicts? (Some perspectives include: it requires a

conscience on both sides; it can take a long time; it takes a large number of supporters; the resisters may be required to sacrifice their own well-being in pursuit of a higher goal.)

- o How might Gandhi's methods of nonviolent resistance have worked in the Falklands/Malvinas conflict? What methods of nonviolent resistance could the Argentines have used in an attempt to gain control of the islands from the British?

- o How might Gandhi's methods of nonviolent resistance have worked in the Arab-Israeli conflict? What methods of nonviolent resistance could the Palestinians have used to gain autonomy in the Israeli-occupied regions?

4. Point out to students that these categories -- passive resistance and nonviolent resistance -- use action as the key distinguishing feature. The categories this curriculum unit began with -- violence and nonviolence -- use violence as the key distinguishing feature.

   Passive resistance is marked by inaction while nonviolent resistance is marked by action. Many advocates of nonviolent action argue that the categories of violence and nonviolence are inappropriate. One scholar states that to think of all social and political behavior as either violent or nonviolent seriously distorts reality. One distortion is that "some people call 'nonviolent' anything they regard as good, and 'violent' anything they dislike. A second gross distortion occurs when people totally erroneously equate cringing passivity with nonviolent action because in neither case is there the use of physical violence." (Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, p. 64.)

   Ask students what they think of this argument.

   Given this action/inaction dichotomy, ask students why some analysts would argue that negotiation is not an example of nonviolent action. (Possible answers include: While negotiation might be a peaceful response to conflict, it should not be identified with the technique of nonviolent action because it relies upon rational or emotional verbal efforts. Further, negotiation often uses established institutional procedures and always involves an implied or explicit threat of sanction if an agreement is not reached. Whereas nonviolent action relies upon special types of social, economic, and political activity.)

5. Inform students that the remainder of the class period will be devoted to tying together the conceptual and practical aspects of the three case studies they have examined.

BACKGROUND ON GANDHI AND THE BRITISH-INDIAN CONFLICT

- Mohandas K. Gandhi was an Indian political and spiritual leader who lived from 1869-1948. To the majority of India, Gandhi was affectionately referred to as Mahatma, which translates as "Great Soul."

- At the age of 18, Gandhi studied law in England. After graduating, Gandhi was offered a job in South Africa, then part of the British Empire. In 1893, Gandhi became aware of the injustice of racial discrimination when, in spite of his first-class ticket, he was thrown off a train for refusing to sit in a lower-class compartment designated for Indians and blacks. Soon afterward, Gandhi began organizing demonstrations and campaigns in South Africa for Indian rights. Gandhi was arrested numerous times by the British (in South Africa), but he persisted in his efforts. As a civil rights leader in South Africa in 1906, Gandhi urged Indians living there to submit to imprisonment rather than accept restrictions imposed by discriminatory legislation.

- As Gandhi began to develop his technique of nonviolent action, he became increasingly dissatisfied with the term "passive resistance." Some analysts maintain that, to Gandhi, passive resistance implied sitting idly and allowing things to happen. Gandhi held that resistance must be active. Effective action requires that resisters accept full responsibility for their acts, extend respect to their opponents, retain an open mind toward opposing positions, and seek creative solutions acceptable to all participants in a conflict. To describe the new and evolving technique of nonviolent resistance, he coined the term satyagraha (literally, "grasping or holding the truth").

  The objective of satyagraha is to resolve a conflict by making the points of confrontation clear to the opponent, and then persuading or converting the opponent, rather than triumphing over or coercing the opponent. Examples of nonviolent resistance include civil disobedience, non-cooperation, participating in demonstrations, boycotts, and fasting.

  Gandhi believed that there would be five stages to every nonviolent resistance movement in terms of how the movement was seen by others: indifference, ridicule, abuse, repression, and respect. A movement would not be successful until it reached the last stage.

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Gandhi paid great attention to the strategy and tactics of nonviolent resistance. He considered his life s mission to practice "with scientific precision nonviolence and its possibilities."

Gandhi also encouraged self-suffering as a way of demonstrating sincerity and refusal to harm the opponent. The sufferer, by holding to his/her convictions, would gain the respect of opponents and all citizens. The sufferer would appeal to the heart, conscience, and decency of other people.

Gandhi encouraged followers to consciously associate mass political action with the norm of nonviolence.

- In 1885 the Indian National Congress was established. To most Congress members, "nationalism" meant ending British political domination while adopting Western ideas of government, modernization, and programs to improve the standard of living of Indians. One of Congress´s first demands was that Indian representation in the government should be increased. Eventually, Congress became the chief voice of nationalism and a key antagonist of the British regime.

  The British Viceroy Lord Dufferin said about Congress´s first demands: "It will be sufficient to observe that the principal subjects which they have brought forward as constituting the grievances of the people of India are of singularly trivial importance..." (quoted in A Short History of India, Ian W. Mabbett, p. 178.)

- In 1915, after more than 20 years in South Africa, Gandhi returned to India to find himself a hero for his work against British discrimination. India was at that time under British rule, and Gandhi led a number of nonviolent campaigns against the British. Initially, Gandhi wanted only to increase the power of Indians in the government, but eventually he decided to pursue the goal of complete independence for India from British rule. In Gandhi´s view, if the maintenance of an unjust or undemocratic regime depended on the obedience, submission, and cooperation of the population, then the means for changing or abolishing such a system lay in the disobedience, defiance, and noncooperation of the population. Gandhi said to the British rulers: "...(We) cease to play the part of the ruled. You may, if you like, cut us to pieces... If you act contrary to our will, we shall not help you; and without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward." (Hind Swaraj, M.K. Gandhi, p. 100.)

- In reforms of 1919, a new system was conceived that would keep British administration of defense, law and order, and give the

Indians administration of health, forestry, and local administration. By this point the nationalists were not interested in experimenting with "training for self-government," but instead wanted British rule to end completely.

- Some of Gandhi's nonviolent methods involved attacking British power at its economic roots. One of Gandhi's most notable revolts was his organization of boycotts and mass burnings of British-made clothing in the 1920s. For decades the British mercantile system had encouraged Indian farmers to grow cotton, which was then sent to England to be woven into cloth and sold back to Indians at high profit. After teaching himself to spin cotton, Gandhi encouraged millions of Indians to spin their own cotton and weave their own cloth. This campaign attacked the economic foundations of what Gandhi considered to be Britain's exploitation of India.

  The Indian nationalist Romesh Dutt argued that in many ways "the sources of national wealth in India have been narrowed under British rule. India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing (and agricultural) country." (Economic History of India Under Early British Rule, Romesh Dutt, preface.)

- In 1930, Gandhi led the "March to the Sea," to protest Great Britain's Salt Acts, which made it a crime for any Indian to possess salt that had not been purchased from British stores, where it was heavily taxed. Hundreds of Indians marched 200 miles to the sea and gathered sea salt from beaches in clear defiance of British law.

  Problems began when Gandhi later urged all Indians to ignore the law and produce their own salt. Attacks were made on government salt works and police outposts were burned. In many other cases, despite Gandhi's desires, demonstrations were not peaceful.

- Frequently imprisoned for his public actions against the British government, Gandhi often fasted for self-purification and as a statement of protest. This placed the British government in the position of either releasing Gandhi from prison or having the responsibility if he should die in prison. (Gandhi spent 2,338 days in jail during his lifetime.)

- The British Viceroy Lord Irwin rejected the view that large-scale noncooperation and civil disobedience were legitimate forms of political agitation. In 1930, the Viceroy said that the civil disobedience movement for independence was a

"deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action, and for this reason...it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive. Mass action, even if it is intended by its promoters to be nonviolent, is nothing but the application of force under another form... (The) times are not normal...(We) must fight the (Civil Disobedience Movement) with all our strength." (India in 1930-31, Government of India, Calcutta, India, p. 80-81.)

- In 1931, Gandhi went to London for a conference on India's future. Little resulted from these discussions. In Gandhi's view, the important fact was that by having to negotiate directly with the nonviolent rebels, the British government had recognized India and its nationalist representatives as equals. Gandhi also believed that these negotiations strengthened the Indians and this meant that independence could not be denied much longer.

- A British Member of Parliament stated that the "English in India have been confronted by a unique problem. That the attempt to solve it should have revealed some errors in judgement was inevitable; but those errors have been due less to a deficiency in goodwill than to an excess in benevolence." (The English in India: A Problem of Politics, Sir John A.R. Marriott, p. 301.)

- In 1937, the British began planning for Indian independence, but it was another decade before independence was granted. The British contended that their presence prevented violent conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims.

- An official spokesman of Great Britain said in 1942: "Englishmen...built up the majestic structure of an Imperial system (in British India) under which peace, order and good government (have been) secured for three hundred and fifty millions of human beings..." (India and Freedom, L.S. Amery, 1942, p. 21.)

- Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in 1944: "Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy: the princes; the minority problem; various vested interests, foreign and Indian; the lack of industry and the neglect of agriculture;...and, above all, the tragic poverty of the people." (The Discovery of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, 1946, p. 295 and 305-306.)

  Nehru further argued that the British deliberately tried to prevent change in India, "except in so far as this was necessary to consolidate their position and help them in

exploiting the country and its people to their own advantage." (The Discovery of India, p. 328.)

- There are conflicting views about the relationship between British rule and dissension between Hindus and Muslims. Indian nationalists claim that the British fostered such dissension in order to "divide-and-rule." The British claim that they were impartial, concerned only with the protection of minority rights.

- In 1946 Gandhi engaged in conferences with the Viceroy of Britain, Lord Mountbatten, to finalize a plan for India's independence. Hostilities between the Hindus and Muslims of India led to a decision to create two independent countries, one Hindu and one Muslim. Gandhi was opposed to such a partition, but accepted the plan rather than block a settlement for India's independence.

- In 1947 India gained complete independence from Britain and two independent nations were formed: a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan. The joy of that great achievement, however, was marred for Gandhi by the massacres and violent disagreements between the Hindus and Muslims of India that preceded and followed the granting of independence.

- In 1948, at the age of 78, Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic who hated Gandhi for his tolerance of Muslims.

- Gandhi has had great influence outside India. Gandhi believed that by showing at least one example of the practical success of nonviolent resistance in the most difficult of circumstances that the viability of the entire range of nonviolent action would be proven. There have been several satyagraha campaigns against apartheid in South Africa. In the U.S., Gandhi's nonviolent techniques were adopted by Martin Luther King and others in civil rights campaigns.

HANDOUT #10

AN APPEAL FOR NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE
BY MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

If India is to revive the glory of her ancient past, she can only do so when she attains her freedom. The reason for the struggle having drawn the attention of the world I know does not lie in the fact that we Indians are fighting for our liberty, but in the fact that the means adopted by us for attaining that liberty are unique and, as far as history shows us, have not been adopted by any other people of whom we have any record.

The means adopted are not violence, not bloodshed, not diplomacy as one understands it nowadays, but they are purely and simply truth and non-violence. No wonder that the attention of the world is directed toward this attempt to lead a successful bloodless revolution. Hitherto, nations have fought in the manner of the brute. They have wreaked vengeance upon those whom they have considered to be their enemies...

I, personally, would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show the way out to the hungering world.

This speech was given by Mohandas K. Gandhi in England and broadcast over U.S. radio stations in 1931. It is reprinted from Gandhi Versus the Empire, Haridas T. Muzumdar, 1932 (Universal Publishing Co., New York City, NY). It is excerpted by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education.

CONCLUSION
Lesson Five

Introduction

To conclude the unit, this half-day lesson engages students in a discussion bringing together the conceptual and practical aspects of all three case studies.

Objectives

Students will:

- compare and contrast the conflict resolution/management methods used in the three case studies
- discuss whether conclusions can be drawn from the three case studies to international conflict resolution/management in general
- discuss whether there is a relationship between conflict resolution/management at the international level and at the interpersonal level

Procedures: Day 8 (second half)

Three Case Studies: 10 minutes

1. In order to compare and contrast some of the specifics of the three case studies, ask students the open-ended questions below. Have students support their answers.

   - What are the similarities and differences in the three case studies in terms of:

     a. goals
     b. participants
     c. alternative conflict resolution/management methods
     d. conflict resolution/management method chosen
     e. results

   - Are there specific factors in each of the cases which help define what conflict resolution/management methods were alternatives to both participants?

   - Are there specific factors in each of the cases which help define what conflict resolution/management methods were chosen?

   - What criteria can be used to evaluate the results? (Be sure students consider some of these possibilities: effectiveness in achieving the desired goal; cost in terms

of lives; cost in terms of resources; effect on prestige; effectiveness in resolving the underlying conflict; justice; morality; legality.)

- Use the criteria just established and evaluate the results in each of the cases.

2. Ask students if they know anything about the current relations of the participants in any of the three case studies.

Extending the Conclusions: 10 minutes

1. In order to extend the discussion beyond the three case studies, ask students the following open-ended questions:

   - By considering both the case studies and other conflicts you know about, what conclusions, if any, be drawn about the following:

     a. the preferability of one conflict resolution/ management method over others
     b. the preferability of conflict resolution over conflict management (or vice versa)
     c. the results of particular conflict resolution/ management methods
     d. the ability of powerful leaders to influence the course of a conflict

     Is it possible to draw conclusions based upon the case studies? If not, what are the obstacles to making conclusions?

   - What lessons have you learned about international conflict and its resolution/management?

2. Return to some points discussed on Day 1 and on other days. In particular, ask students:

   - Do you want to revise your definitions of conflict, violence, war, and nonviolence?

   - Can violence resolve conflicts? Is violence ever morally or practically justifiable?

   - Are wars inevitable?

   - Is nonviolence the opposite of violence? Is nonviolent the same as peaceful?

   - Is nonviolence (or Gandhi's notion of nonviolent resistance) always morally and practically justifiable?

- Does the user of nonviolence (or of Gandhi's methods of nonviolent resistance) always achieve a positive, or "win," outcome?

- Are some reasons for violence and nonviolence better than others? (Students should be clear about their bases for judgement; that is, they should clarify what "better" can refer to.)

- Is inaction ever justified in a conflict situation?

The Case Study Method: 5 minutes

1. It is important to draw attention to the fact that the case study method was used in this curriculum unit to provide a means of comparing and contrasting elements of three different conflicts. Ask students what are the advantages and disadvantages of using this case study method to learn about conflicts and conflict resolution/management methods.

2. In order to continue discussing the way in which the overall structure of this curriculum unit may effect students' conclusions about conflict and its resolution/management, ask students if the study of or approach to the three case studies was parallel or dissimilar in important ways.

Interpersonal and International Conflicts: 5 minutes

1. Describe the debate about how interpersonal conflicts and international conflicts are related using the information below. Ask students what their positions are in this debate.

   Some historians and international relations specialists believe that the behavior of nations involved in international conflicts is like the behavior of individuals in interpersonal conflicts because, in fact, it is individuals who are always interacting. If this is true, then it would seem that nations can manage or resolve their conflicts in many of the same ways that individuals do. A further implication is that if international conflicts are composed of interpersonal conflicts, then one way to resolve an international conflict is to resolve the interpersonal conflicts or improve person-to-person relations. Gandhi said that "what is true of families and communities is true of nations. There is no reason to believe that there is one law for families and another for nations." (Hind Swaraj, M.K. Gandhi, p. 79.)

   Some historians and international relations specialists maintain that analogies between interpersonal and international conflicts are misleading. They claim that a nation's behavior is unlike individual behavior and that the

options for nations when managing conflicts are distinct from the options for individuals. An implication of this viewpoint is that bad policy judgments can result from making analogies between the two levels. A further implication is that different moral frameworks exist at personal and world levels.

2. Ask students what similarities and differences exist, if any, between interpersonal and international conflict. What similarities and differences exist, if any, between conflict resolution/management at the interpersonal level and at the international level? Can the lessons students learned about international conflicts be applied to the interpersonal level?

Appendix A
RELATED ACTIVITIES

We have provided lists of related activities to offer teachers suggestions of how ideas within **CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT** may be extended in both general and specific ways. In addition to a lengthy list of social studies activities, separate lists for psychology and sociology, philosophy, and English/language arts are provided below.

Social Studies

The social studies section is divided into the following categories: Extension of Specific Materials in this Unit, Analysis of General Issues, and Analysis of Specific Conflicts.

Any connections to California's History/Social Science Framework and History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards are indicated in parentheses.

Extension of Specific Materials in this Unit

- One way to categorize causes of war is whether the causes are seen to arise from individual, national, or international levels. The following examples of causes of war under each category represent theses forwarded by political scientists and others:

  a. Individual. (Examples include: mankind is violent by nature; a government leader misperceives the actions or intentions of another leader; a leader goes to war to save face.)

  b. National. (Examples include: internal organization of states; arms makers within a nation view a war as good for their business; bad government leads people to evil.)

  c. International. (Examples include: there is an imbalance of power among nations; violence is inevitable between nations seeking their own interests; there are imperialist rivalries brought about by the decline of capitalism in domestic economies.)

  Analyze the method of categorization and then one or more of the theses. Research the arguments and evidence supporting and rejecting the theses.

- Examine the causes and consequences of conflicts examined in this unit from the point of view of individuals.

- Note the ways in which violence is justified in political conflicts. Two scholars argue that the definition of violence

changes to suit the purposes of political actors and the "justifications are shifted and manipulated in concrete situations according to the positions of the contestants." (Ideologies of Violence, Kenneth W. Grundy and Michael A. Weinstein, page v.)

- Read some written stories of how nonviolent action occurs--what is looks and feels like to participants, to those the action is aimed at, and to outside observers.

- Give students a vocabulary test on the key terms and concepts in this unit.

- Define the concept of historical context. How much history is important to know in each of the conflicts studied? If a participant in one of the conflicts was answering this question, would their answer be different than the answer of the other participant?

- Define the concept of deterrence. What role did this concept play in any of the conflicts examined in this curriculum unit?

- Define the concept of precedence. What role did this concept play in any of the conflicts examined in this curriculum unit?

- Define the concept of security. What role did this concept play in any of the conflicts examined in this curriculum unit? Did any conflict participants claim they had learned lessons about security from involvement in the conflicts studied?

- Research the current situation between Argentina and Great Britain regarding the Falklands/Malvinas dispute.

- Conduct a role-play of a British military council, similar to the Argentine military council role-play.

- Research what impact, if any, Margaret Thatcher's victory in the Falklands/Malvinas War had on domestic political battles in Great Britain.

- Write a chronology of key events and dates in the history of the Falklands/Malvinas crisis.

- One analyst argues that the Falklands/Malvinas dispute reveals how cultural differences in the ways in which countries understand particular principles affect foreign policy perspectives. Nina Serafino states that "Argentina would not believe up until the very end of the mediation that Britain would actually stand up and fight for the Falklands. For Anglo cultures, a first principle is protecting the rights of the minority. This principle is given much less weight in most other countries... (where) a primary principle is the

preservation of the collective welfare as represented by the state." (Perspectives on Negotiation: Four Case Studies and Interpretations, p. 66.) Discuss this argument and the general hypothesis.

- Some argue that the Falklands/Malvinas War was a war between the First World and the Third World. Discuss this argument. Does the Falklands/Malvinas War have important ramifications for North-South relations? Why or why not?

- Discuss U.S. policy interests regarding Great Britain and Argentina prior to the Falklands/Malvinas crisis. Discuss U.S. aims during and after the crisis.

- Discuss the role of the Organization of American States in attempting to help resolve the Falklands/Malvinas crisis and other past crises.

- Discuss the role of the United Nations in the dispute over the Falklands/Malvinas. Look particularly at the following documents: U.N. charter, Resolution 2065 (1965), Resolution 502 (1982), Resolution 37/9 (1982), and Resolution 38/12 (1983). Examine the role of Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar during the war.

- Examine the role of U.S., U.N., and Peruvian mediators during the Falklands/Malvinas war.

- Research the current situation regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. (History/Social Science Framework "Area Studies: Cultures - Grade 9 and "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" courses)

- Research the status of Palestinian refugees in Jordan and other Arab countries. Read some of the U.N. resolutions on the Palestinian refugee issue. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the Jewish settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. What are the official and unofficial reasons for these settlements?

- Discuss the stereotypes of Jews and Arabs in the U.S. media.

- Discuss the role of religion in the Middle East conflict. Examine in particular Judaism, Muslim, and religious fundamentalism. Discuss what connections exist between religion and politics in the governments of the Middle East. (History/Social Science Framework "Comparative World Religions - Grade 9" course)

- Discuss the economic burdens of military spending for Israel and Egypt during the late 1970s and how these economic burdens may have influenced the political actions of these two countries, particularly during the Camp David Accords.

- Discuss U.S. and Soviet interests in the Middle East. Analyze U.S. and Soviet involvement in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Research the joint Soviet-American communique on October 1, 1977. Examine the role of foreign aid in the Middle East. (History/ Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the role of the United Nations in the Middle East. Research the role of the U.N. in arranging cease-fire agreements. Research some of the many U.N. resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. Has the change in composition of countries represented in the U.N. changed the U.N.'s policies toward the Middle East? (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography-Grade 10" course)

- Research the Balfour Declaration.

- Examine what the PLO charter ("Palestine National Covenant") says regarding Israel. Has the PLO's position toward Israel changed over the years? Similarly, has Israel's position toward the PLO and the cause of a Palestinian national homeland changed over the years? Research to what extent the PLO and its goals are supported by Palestinians.

- Research the relationship between the PLO and Arab nations, especially Jordan. Research the history of the Palestinian national movement.

- One analyst argues that "For 50 years, every time an Arab state has intervened in the Palestinian issue, it has been to further its own interests to the detriment of the Palestinians." (Joel Beinin, "Making Sense of the Middle East," p. 23) Discuss this statement. Do you agree or disagree? Provide evidence to support your answer.

- Explore the diversity of opinion within each of these three groups -- the Palestinians, the Israelis, and the Arabs -- on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

- Analyze the use of these terms by the U.S., Israel, and the PLO in the context of Palestinian-Israeli conflict: terrorism, heroic action, guerrilla, and freedom fighter.

- Discuss statements made by the U.S. government since 1967 on whether a Palestinian state should be established.

- Discuss Yasir Arafat's role in the PLO.

- Read the two documents produced at Camp David.

- Study in detail the reactions to the Camp David Accords by Arab states, Israel, the PLO, the U.S., and the Soviet Union.

- Study in detail the short and long term results of the Camp David Accords. After the signing of the Accords, what was done to sustain the spirit of its intent and spread the spirit to other parties in the Middle East? What were the obstacles? How did the U.S., Egypt, and Israel deal with these obstacles? In what ways did the Accords work to expand real peace? Where did it fail? In 1982, following Israel's action in Lebanon, where did Camp David stand? How many of its goals were achieved? To what extent has Camp David ultimately met the fundamental goals of its participants? To what extent were its shortcomings indicative of a lack of foresight or of unforeseeable circumstance? Have those people currently working for peace in Israel and Arab countries been assisted by the spirit of the Accords?

- Compare the path to Egyptian-Israeli negotiations in 1977-79 with the calls in 1988 for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

- Research the historical claims to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights.

- Discuss the status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from 1949 to 1967. Did either Jordan or Egypt foster the creation of a Palestinian nation in these territories? Why or why not? Is the answer to this question relevant to the current conflict?

- Discuss the Arab-Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973 in detail. What conflict resolution/management methods were chosen by Egypt and Israel before and during the wars? Discuss the argument made by some analysts that Egypt provoked confrontation in order to force Israel to negotiate.

- Discuss the conflicts between Israel and Syria.

- Discuss relations between Egypt and Israel after the peace treaty was signed at Camp David. Research the events associated with the return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

- Discuss the role of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

- Research the conflicts in Lebanon in the 1980s.

- Research the causes and consequences of the 1988 uprisings in the Israeli-occupied territories in the Middle East.

- Analyze the relationship between Great Britain and the leaders of the modern Zionist movement. Examine the role of Great Britain in Palestine after World War I. Discuss the claims made by Palestinians that Britain had a one-sided pro-Zionist policy. Discuss claims made by Jews that Britain was not fulfilling its promises to the Zionist movement. How would you characterize Britain's relations with Palestinians and Jews from the 1920 to 1948.

- Discuss the history of the Arabs and the Palestinians. (History/Social Science Framework "Area Studies: Cultures-Grade 9" course)

- Analyze the moral, historical, religious, and legal claims to Israel/Palestine made by Jews and Palestinians.

- Consider the following population estimates from the U.S. government for these Israeli-occupied territories:

	Jewish	Palestinian Arab & Others
Gaza Strip:		
Pre-war 1967	0	380,000
1977	under 1,000	450,000
1987	2,000	559,000
West Bank:		
Pre-war 1967	0	831,000*
1977	5,000	690,000
1987	55,000	775,000

*includes East Jerusalem

- Contact one of the many national resource centers for Middle East Studies about getting speakers for a discussion of the conflict resolution/management alternatives in the Arab-Israeli conflict. There are centers at the following universities: University of California, Berkeley; University of California, Los Angeles; University of Chicago; Columbia University; Harvard University; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; New York University; University of Pennsylvania; University of Texas, Austin; University of Utah, Salt Lake City; and University of Washington, Seattle.

- Research in detail the history of colonialism in India. Review Indian history prior to British rule as well as the factors that opened India to colonial domination. Study British imperialism both from the perspective of the Indians and the colonial rulers. Explore whether British rule in India was destructive or creative. Examine the world context

of Indian nationalism. Discuss the role of Hindu and Moslem cultural values in the conflict. Review the historical aftermath of colonialism in India up to the present time. Discuss the roles of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Louis Mountbatten, and the Indian National Congress in preparing India for self-government. And consider the diversity of opinion within each of these three groups: British, Hindus, and Moslems. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Research in detail some of Gandhi's campaigns of civil disobedience in India. What were the obstacles to the success of these campaigns? Which of these obstacles were overcome and how were they overcome?

- Research in detail Britain's views of Gandhi and his campaigns for civil disobedience.

- Research Gandhi's views on violence, war, the atomic bomb, and World War II, and world government.

- Research Nehru's reasons for supporting nonviolent resistance.

- Discuss the following criticisms of Gandhi, cited by one scholar: Gandhi's contribution to the political liberation of India is questionable; Gandhi "pursued personal holiness at the expense of public good"; Gandhi "acted as an apologist for the caste system, and in 1932, resorted to a fast to block an affirmative action planned by the British government in favor of the outcastes, or so-called 'untouchables'"; Gandhi mixed religion with politics; Gandhi is responsible for the massacres which occurred after the partition of India in 1947; the sincerity and consistency of Gandhi's belief in nonviolence is questionable; and the Indian communists argued that Gandhi "knew how to rouse the masses but deliberately contained and diverted their revolutionary ardour so as not to hurt the interests of British imperialists and Indian capitalists." (B.R. Nanda, Gandhi and His Critics, various pages.)

- Consider in detail the ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Gandhi. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses)

- Research Gandhi's boycott of British-made clothing. Examine particularly Gandhi's relationship with British textile workers. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the role of civil disobedience in the philosophies of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Thoreau. Compare and contrast their philosophies.

- Examine the impact of Gandhi's example of nonviolent resistance in India on other conflict situations.

Analysis of General Issues

- We particularly encourage the use of role-plays and simulations as follow-up activities. The following are some of the many interactive activities relevant to conflict resolution/management:

  "The Oil Islands Dispute," William A. Nesbitt, from Teaching Youth About Conflict and Nuclear War, 1973. National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, DC. This activity involves pairs of students representing the United States and the Soviet Union in a dispute over islands in the Bering Straits.

  "The Other Side," Tom Snyder Productions, 1985. Cambridge, MA. This computer simulation game teaches global conflict resolution in the context of a world with two countries, separated by an unclaimed frontier.

  "The Tower of Conflict," adapted by Robert E. Freeman from Strategies to Introduce the Concept of Conflict, East Bay Council for the Social Studies. The purpose of this behavioral experiment and inquiry exercise is to demonstrate graphically the basic dynamics of a simple interpersonal conflict in which two people have mutually incompatible goals.

  "Star Power," R. Garry Shirts, 1969. Simile II, Del Mar, CA. This simulation places students in a society where the group with the most wealth is given the right to make the rules for the game. The game teaches players that they may be more vulnerable to the temptation to abuse power than they realize.

- Discuss the role of a public in influencing its government to choose violent or nonviolent means of conflict resolution at the domestic or international levels.

- Discuss how change leads to conflict and conflict leads to change. Consider such concepts as decline, progress, diffusion, cyclical alteration, and revolutionary advance, and relate these concepts to specific examples. For example, relate change and conflict to the causes of the Civil War. (U.S. History, Culture, and Geography Standard 20)

- Examine the causes and consequences of war from the point of view of individuals. Consider such concepts as patriotism, conscientious objection, hero, and soldier.

- Consider whether social change through legal reform is possible. If it is possible, why might people choose illegal means of bringing about change? Can you find historical instances in which changes were brought about by purely legal means? How long did it take to gain these reforms?

- Discuss the role of international law in preventing war. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" and "Law-Related Education - Grade 9" courses)

- Discuss the following claim: "Up to this point in time, when it comes to conflict resolution, science, and technology have more often been put at the service of the soldier rather than the peacemaker." (Nesbitt, Abramowitz, & Bloomstein, Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, p. 1.)

- Discuss whether or not there is a relationship between fighting a war and stimulating a nation's economy.

- Discuss the role of cultural perspectives, such as racism, ethnocentrism, and xenophobia in the historical development of interrelationships among people and cultures. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 17)

- Discuss how much a person's religious beliefs contribute to his or her views on violence and nonviolence. During the Middle Ages many Christians waged the Crusades in the name of God. Also, Islam teaches that a jihad is a holy war waged as a religious duty. (World History, Culture, and Geography Standard 9; History/Social Science Framework "Comparative World Religions - Grade 9" course)

- Discuss examples of nonviolent resistance during wartime. For instance, consider the forms of nonviolent resistance to Hitler and the Nazis.

- Consider the role of misperception in an international crisis. Look particularly at World War I and the Vietnam War.

Analysis of Specific Conflicts

- Use the case study method to analyze interpersonal conflicts.

- Research the life of one of the following people: Jane Addams, Cesar Chavez, Susan B. Anthony, Jose Marti, Ralph Nader, Rosa Parks, Jacob Riis, Pope John XXIII, and Bishop Desmond Tutu. Focus on the strategies proposed by the person to resolve or manage conflicts.

- Write a 300-word essay on the following topic: What specific conflict resolution/management methods were considered and used during the 1960s civil rights movement? Which method do you think was instrumental in influencing national policy? Was one method more important than the others, or did they work together? Could any method have worked without the others?

- Consider a current national or international conflict. If the conflict was resolved violently, construct a plan with which it could have been resolved nonviolently. Or, if the conflict was solved nonviolently, construct a plan with which it could have been resolved violently. What are the consequences, whether positive or negative, of the conflict resolution method constructed?

- One analyst argues that the following nonviolent struggles achieved their objectives in a short period of time: the 1766 repeal of the Stamp Act; the defeat of the 1920 Kapp Putsch in Germany; in 1942 the defeat at the hands of Norwegian teachers of the Quisling regime's effort to establish a fascist Corporative State; and the defeat of El Salvadoran and Guatemalan dictators in 1944. (Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, p. 70.) Research several of these incidents. Are there any similarities? Did the users of nonviolence achieve their aims quickly?

- Research nonviolent struggles that have been successful and that have been defeated.

- Consider the application of terms such as "strategy," "strength," "skill," "tactics," "ability to act," and "determination" to nonviolent action.

- Consider the following argument: "Some of the neglect of nonviolent struggle by historians may be rooted in their personal preconceptions and their acceptance of society's assumption that violence is the only really significant and effective form of combat." (Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, p. 72.) Do you agree or disagree? Examine how nonviolent struggles are portrayed in history books. Are the victories using nonviolent action minimized, forgotten, or denied?

- Consider the connection between nonviolent resistance and the notion of non-provocative national defense.

- Consider the conflicts associated with trade protectionism and government economic subsidies. (U.S. History and Geography Standard 7; History/Social Science Framework "Economics-Grade 12" course)

- Consider the conflicts, from the intragroup to the global levels, associated with environmental problems and environmental movements. (U.S. History and Geography Standard 19)

- Consider the conflicts underlying isolationism, imperialism, and interventionism -- American's foreign policies at various stages of history. (U.S. History and Geography Standard 9)

- Consider the conflicts that are often either directly or indirectly at the root of America's expansion and exploration. For instance, were Napolean not at war with Europe, the Louisiana territory may never have been sold by France. Further, how much has America's exploration of space been spurred by the competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? (U.S. History and Geography Standard 24)

- Analyze the violent and nonviolent means the U.S. government used during the 19th century to expand its territory. Focus on U.S. relations with Spain in the acquisition of Florida, with France in the Louisiana Purchase, and with Mexico. Note also the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. (U.S. History and Geography Standard 9)

- Analyze the violent and nonviolent means the U.S. government used during the early 20th century to manage or resolve conflicts with other countries. Focus on the "Open Door Policy," American support for the Panamanian Revolution of 1903, American intervention in the Mexican Revolution of 1914, and the League of Nations. (U.S. History and Geography Standard 9)

- Compare and contrast the conflict resolution/management strategies used in various social movements such as the women's rights movement, the movement to abolish slavery, and the civil rights movement. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 8," "Women in Our History - Grade 9," and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses.)

- Analyze the causes and consequences of World War I. An interesting reading for this analysis is "The Price We Paid For War" by George Kennan published in the Atlantic in October 1964. Discuss whether the root causes of war were obvious to policymakers of the time. Discuss also whether it's possible to determine the beginning of a war. For example some argue that World War II "started" when the U.S. acquired the Philippines after the Spanish-American War of 1898 as this made the U.S. a Pacific power. Finally, discuss World War I in relation to nationalism, imperialism, and militarism. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and

Geography - Grade 10" and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses)

- Analyze the causes and consequences of World War II. Discuss the following: Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, the German offensive, the battle of Britain, the major turning points of the war, the Yalta Conference, Pearl Harbor, the use of the atomic bomb against Japan, the Marshall Plan, and the Truman Doctrine. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses)

- Discuss whether there is a relationship between conflict management or resolution and the establishment and continuation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography- Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the Korean War. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses)

- Discuss the Cold War. Topics include the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe and its takeover of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia; Truman's policy of containment; the Marshall Plan; NATO; and the Berlin blockade. (History/ Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" and "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" courses)

- Discuss the following conflicts associated with these events in the postwar era: the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic, and the 1978 Panama Canal Treaty. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" course)

- Discuss the World Court's involvement in the settling of a conflict between the U.S. and Canada over the Georges Bank fishing grounds off Nova Scotia. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" course)

- Research the causes and consequences of the Vietnam War. Why did American policymakers initiate and continue U.S. involvement in the war? How might the war, which is considered by some analysts a civil war, have been fought had the U.S. not entered? Was the war fought over values, interests, or resources? What effect did the domestic anti-war movement have in accelerating U.S. removal from the war? Discuss the aftermath of the Vietnam War, particularly the genocide committed in Cambodia by the Pol Pot regime. (U.S. History and Geography Standards 8 and 34; History/

Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the plan of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez to bring peace to Central America. Review the Esquipulas I and II agreements signed August 7, 1987 and January 15, 1988 by the presidents of five Central American nations.

- Discuss Ghana's struggle for independence. (History/Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography- Grade 10" course)

- Analyze the fall of Rome to invading Germanic tribes. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- Analyze the Muslim conquest of Ghana which ended in the destruction of the kingdom in 1076. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- In studying the Reformation, examine its historical results, including the religious conflicts. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- Examine the Spanish conquest of the Aztec civilization. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- Discuss the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- Define the concept of rationality. Explore conflicts that are solved rationally and irrationally. (History/Social Science Framework "World History and Geography - Grade 7" course)

- Discuss the short and long term results of the American Revolution. Examine in particular the significance the Revolution had for other nations, especially France. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 8" course)

- Discuss the Mexican-American War, its territorial settlements, and its aftermath in the lives of the Mexican families who first lived in the region. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 8" course)

- Research the causes and consequences of the American Civil War. Discuss the meaning of the war for soldiers, free blacks, slaves, women, and others. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 8" course)

- Study the conflict between increased economic growth and environmental priorities. (History/Social Science Framework "Our State in the Twentieth Century - Grade 9" course)

- Discuss the conflicts (if any) associated with "government-produced famine in parts of Africa; political instability, poverty, and crushing national debt in Latin America;... terrorism; the global consequences of destruction of natural resources; economic and cultural dislocations caused by technological change; the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the struggle to defend human rights and democratic freedoms against governments that respect neither." (History/ Social Science Framework "World History, Culture, and Geography - Grade 10" course)

- Discuss the conflict between the U.S. and Canada over acid rain. (History/Social Science Framework "U.S. History and Geography - Grade 11" and "Principles of American Democracy-Grade 12" courses)

Psychology and Sociology

Any connections to California's History/Social Science Framework are indicated in parentheses.

- Consider the theories on innate and learned aggression in humans. What does each theory imply about the inevitability of war? A great deal of research has been done on this topic. A brief synopsis of some theories is as follows.

  Sigmund Freud believed that aggression is inherent in people and that if they are to maintain a healthy psyche, they must have an outlet for their inner violence. Konrad Lorenz added the theory that groups of people may possess a collective aggression similar to an individual's aggression. Desmond Morris used logical arguments to show how aggressiveness may have been an advantageous survival trait for man's evolutionary antecedents.

  Robert Ardrey related group aggression to the possession of land property. He observed in primitive groups that whereas nomadic tribes, alien to the concept of property, were pacifist, farming tribes with land to protect were warlike.

  Lorna Marshall observed the Kalahari Bushmen of southern Africa, who take great pains to live in harmony with one another and to nurture gentleness in their children. Peggy Durdin observed the stoneage Tasaday tribe recently discovered in the Philippines. The Tasaday apparently have no word for some violent concepts, such as war, and until outsiders introduced them to trapping techniques and thereby meat

eating, the Tasaday were so unintimidating that forest animals displayed no fear of them, feeding out of their hands.

Additional information can be found in the following books and articles:

African Genesis, Robert Ardrey, 1961. Atheneum Publishers, New York City, NY.

Civilization and its Discontents, Sigmund Freud, 1968. W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York City, NY.

"From the Space Age to the Tasaday Age," Peggy Durdin, New York Times Magazine, October 8, 1972.

The Naked Ape, Desmond Morris, 1967. McGraw-Hill, New York City, NY.

On Aggression, Konrad Lorenz, 1963. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., San Diego, CA.

"Sharing, Talking and Giving...," Lorna Marshall, Africa, 31/3, 1961. International African Institute, London, England.

(History/Social Science Framework "Psychology - Grade 9" and "Sociology - Grade 9" courses)

- Consider the question of violence and the mass media. Americans watch an estimated 20 to 45 hours of television per week, and the potential psychological impact of such televised violence is enormous. Some psychiatrists believe that violent television provides a catharsis and decreases aggressive energy. Others believe that violent programming provides models for violent, real-life actions. Which theory do students believe? Furthermore, how does the media portray violent criminals? What motivations do television writers give to these criminals? Do students believe that real-life criminals are similar to those on television? Students can easily research these questions by watching a certain amount of violent programming and then recording a) their feelings after the show and b) the types of violence and crime they viewed. (History/Social Science Framework "Psychology - Grade 9" and "Sociology - Grade 9" courses)

- Consider the following case: In an experiment conducted by Dr. Phillip Zimbardo in 1970, female subjects were divided into two groups. The subjects in one group were made to feel anonymous (they wore baggy lab coats and hoods which covered their faces), while those in another group wore name tags, were called by name, and saw the faces of the others in their groups. These subjects were told to administer electric shock to two other women while the others in the group watched. (The

other women were supposedly undergoing a conditioning experiment, but were actually in league with the experimenters.) The subjects listened to a taped interview with each victim and watched her react in supposed pain during the shock administration. As predicted, the anonymous subjects shocked the victims more than did the identifiable subjects.

What do the results of this experiment imply about human aggressiveness in crowd situations? What does it imply about societal pressure in regards to aggressive behavior, and situations in which this pressure breaks down? (History/Social Science Framework "Psychology - Grade 9" and "Sociology - Grade 9" courses)

- Consider whether or not our society respects individuals or nations that use violence. (History/Social Science Framework "Sociology - Grade 9" course)

- Discuss how perception, misperception, and communication are related to conflicts. Historical examples include World War I and the Cuban Missile Crisis. (History/Social Science Framework "Sociology - Grade 9" course)

- Discuss the relationship between cultural differences and conflict. Consider the following concepts: ethnocentrism, stereotyping, prejudice, and cultural values. (History/Social Science Framework "Sociology - Grade 9" course)

Philosophy

- Consider the question of the mandatory military draft. Do students feel that all men should serve their country militarily, out of patriotism? Would students feel differently in wartime than they do in peacetime? Do they feel that the moral arguments given by "conscientious objectors" are valid reasons for not serving in the armed forces?

- Discuss what economic, religious, psychological, and other factors are involved in an individual's decision to support international violence or to become a member of armed forces fighting in a war. An interesting reading for this discussion is "England's Cruel Earth" by Robert Blythe published in Harper's in March 1969.

- Consider the role of pacifism in Buddhism, the teachings of Asoka (Indian Emperor), and early Christianity.

- Discuss the following statement: "Despite its destructive character...war persists because it has served many of men's needs in terms of providing security, excitement, fellowship in a great cause, cooperative effort, and many other things

human beings want, need, or think they need. Because of this, war must be looked upon as another human institution, which, as long as it serves human needs...will persist." (Nesbitt, Abramowitz, & Bloomstein, Teaching Youth About Conflict and War, p. 3.)

English/Language Arts

Any connections to California's English/Language Arts Framework and English/Language Arts Model Curriculum Standards are indicated in parentheses.

- Examine the language used in the handouts of this curriculum unit. Look particularly at words such as: conquer, invade, gained control, occupy, defeat, evict, etc. In what ways, if any, does the use of such words bias the handouts? Re-write portions of the handouts from a particular perspective, changing the language to make your argument. (English/ Language Arts Framework)

- Consider how any author can manipulate a reader's feelings through the device of point of view. For example, when studying King Lear by Shakespeare, how would readers feel about King Lear and his daughters if the daughters, and not Lear, were given the soliloquies? Would readers feel more or less sympathy for Lear? Similarly, in political and historical writings, can the author use a point of view to indirectly influence readers?

- Discuss the representation of war in literature. Read some of the following: The Red Badge of Courage, For Whom the Bell Tolls, "Soldiers Home," The Killers," Hiroshima, War and Peace, and All Quiet on the Western Front. (English/Language Arts Standard 6; English/Language Arts Framework)

- Read some personal accounts of war written by soldiers and civilians.

- Read Handout #2 on the Falklands/Malvinas War and/or Handout #8 on the Arab-Israeli conflict, underlining in pencil factual statements and underlining in pen opinion statements. How would one prove or disprove accuracy of the factual statements? How are opinion statements supported? (English/ Language Arts Framework)

- When studying The Last Flower: A Parable in Pictures by James Thurber, consider the following:

  * What is Thurber saying about the cycle of war and violence?
  * Does Thurber believe that war is inevitable?
  * Is the parable's final message optimistic or pessimistic?

- Consider the issue of the news media and its behavior during war and other times of national crisis. Should the news media, which may be a citizen's only means of learning about the war, be neutral in times of war or crisis? Should it publish articles or run stories which incite anger against the enemy or degrade the enemy? Should it publish articles or run stories which go against the stated policies of its own nation?

- Consider the questions of innate vs. learned violence (see Psychology and Sociology section above) when studying William Golding's Lord of the Flies.

- Read Denise Levertov's "Life at War" (in Poems 1960-1964 by Denise Levertov), Carl Sandburg's "The Grass" (in The Norton Anthology of Poetry), and Falstaff's soliloquy about honor (in Henry IV, part I by William Shakespeare). What do these poems say about what it's like to be a participant in war, whether an active combatant or a civilian who lives in a war zone? (English/Language Arts Framework)

- Read the Autobiography of Malcolm X. Compare his ideas to the ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Gandhi. (English/ Language Arts Standard 7)

- Discuss the importance of language in describing the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Israelis call the war that took place in June 1967 the "Six-Day War" while the Arabs call it the "June War." Similarly, the Israelis call the war that took place in October 1973 the "Yom Kippur War" while the Arabs call it the "October War."

- Discuss the controversy related to the French and English of U.N. Resolution 242.

Appendix B
CONNECTIONS TO TEXTBOOKS

CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT may be easily and appropriately used in conjunction with U.S. history and world history textbooks, other social studies textbooks and teaching materials, and many works of literature. Suggestions for use of this supplementary unit are below.

This unit may also be adapted in many ways to be used in conjunction with a variety of textbooks and other teaching materials in social studies, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and English/language arts courses. Suggestions for adaptation are found in Appendix A (Related Activities).

Social Studies

This unit may be integrated into discussions of textbook topics such as South American history, Argentine history, the history of the British Empire, the Falklands/Malvinas War, Arab history, Jewish history, the establishment of Israel, the Arab/Israeli wars, the Camp David Accords, the Palestinian refugee issue, India's struggle for independence, Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance, the influence of economics upon world events, and the choice between violence and nonviolence in international conflict resolution/management.

Psychology and Sociology

Educators may use this unit in conjunction with psychology and sociology textbooks when introducing and examining the following topics: individual aggression, group aggression, violence, war, the ideas of Sigmund Freud, communication, social relations and culture, social processes, and social control.

Philosophy

Since the choice between violence and nonviolence is often a moral one, educators may use this unit in a philosophy class, especially when introducing and examining the following topics: religion (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism); public vs. private morality; and ethics, including ancient and classical ideals.

English/Language Arts

Because conflict is the basis for the tension present in most literature, educators may use this unit when studying and analyzing almost any major piece of writing. When studying a piece of literature in conjunction with this unit, it may be interesting to determine why, and with what method, conflicts are managed or resolved by the characters.

Appendix C
CONNECTIONS TO CALIFORNIA'S FRAMEWORKS AND MODEL CURRICULUM STANDARDS

As a service to California educators, we have described below the ways in which **CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT** ties into the History/Social Science Framework, the History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards, the English/Language Arts Framework, and the English/ Language Arts Model Curriculum Standards.

History/Social Science Framework

This unit can be utilized in the following history/social science goal and curriculum strands:

Knowledge and Cultural Understanding: historical literacy, ethical literacy, geographic literacy, and sociopolitical literacy.

Skills Attainment and Social Participation: basic study skills and critical thinking skills.

This curriculum unit, in its entirety or in separate lessons, can be used as is or adapted to supplement textbooks and other teaching materials in these courses: World History and Geography (grade seven); U.S. History and Geography (grade eight); Our State in the Twentieth Century (grade nine); World Regional Geography (grade nine); Comparative World Religions (grade nine); Area Studies: Cultures (grade nine); Psychology (grade nine); Sociology (grade nine); Women in Our History (grade nine); Law-Related Education (grade nine); World History, Culture, and Geography (grade ten); U.S. History and Geography (grade eleven); Principles of American Democracy (grade twelve); and Economics (grade twelve).

The adaptations are listed in detail in the social studies section of Appendix A (Related Activities). Listed below are some ways in which this curriculum unit directly supports the Framework.

<u>World History and Geography</u> (Grade 7)

The Framework describes the study of the growth of Islam to include consideration of "the importance of a common literary language (Arabic) and religion (Islamic) in unifying the many ethnic groups of this region"; of "the position of Christians and Jews in the Islamic world"; and of "the flowering of Jewish civilization in Cordoba". These elements are also present to some extent in this curriculum unit. Comparisons can be made between time periods.

In the study of medieval Europe and Japan, the Framework lists the following topics for exploration: the Crusades, "the continuing persecution of the Jewish minority," "the massacre of Jews by the Crusaders," the expulsion of Jews by England, France, and many German cities, and the plight of the Jews caught between the warring Christians and Moslems in Spain. These topics can serve as additional background to the lesson on the Camp David Accords in this curriculum unit.

World Regional Geography (Grade 9)

The Framework calls for the study of the world regional geography, "distribution and characteristics of the world's major cultures," the "dynamics of human migration and cultural diffusion," and selected nations. These goals are met directly by the lessons on the Falklands/Malvinas War and the Camp David Accords. This entire curriculum unit supports the goals of the Framework by providing a geographic context to the study of issues and events.

World History, Culture, and Geography (Grade 10)

The Framework describes a case study of India which includes the exploration of the British rule over India and the role of Mohandas K. Gandhi. This curriculum unit's lesson on Gandhi and Nonviolent Resistance discusses these topics.

The Framework calls for the study of the geopolitical, cultural, military, and economic significance of Israel; the unresolved problems of the displaced Palestinian refugees; the importance of the Middle East as a focus of East-West rivalries; the history of Zionism; Israel's internal debate over the West Bank, the conflict between Jews and Arabs within Israel; Israel's economy overburdened by military expenditures; and Israel's precarious existence in a hostile region. All of these topics are considered in this curriculum unit's lesson on the Camp David Accords.

History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards

Adaptations of this curriculum unit to meet the History/Social Science Model Curriculum Standards are described in Appendix A (Related Activities). Listed below are some ways in which this unit directly supports the Model Curriculum Standards.

United States History and Geography

Standard 1: "A course should enable students to understand the chronological flow of events, the dynamics of change, and the critical links between past and present." This unit helps students develop critical and analytic approaches toward

conflicts, which comprise much of the historical flow of events and contribute to the dynamics of change.

Standard 37: "A course should provide opportunities for students to develop basic creative and critical thinking, and interpersonal or social participation skills." This unit emphasizes the idea that creative and critical thinking are crucial both for understanding and resolving conflicts.

World History, Cultures, and Geography

Standard 2: "A course should be worldwide in scope, including Western, Middle Eastern, Asian, African, and Native American cultures and civilizations. This is essential to allow students to grasp the deep historical roots of contemporary global interdependence." This unit features case studies of a South American, a Middle Eastern, and an Asian conflict.

Standard 5: "A course should introduce students to the discipline of history and the social sciences. It should show how historians and social scientists sift evidence to arrive at an approximation of truth; and it should give students an understanding of analytic concepts with which they can more effectively interpret, compare, criticize, and question the important issues of both the past and present." This unit teaches and encourages a variety of analytic techniques which can be used to evaluate historical conflicts.

Standard 22: "A course should give ample attention to the importance of individual leadership, creativity, and genius or political power in shaping the development of humankind. The impact of character, personality, and personal background on the contributions or achievements, as well as the limitations or failures, of notable individuals in world history should be considered. The relationship between specific changes and the influence of initiative, courage, or creative action on the part of individuals should also be stressed. The course should give students an appreciation of the special achievements of individuals in the arts, sciences, and religious life, as well as in the political, social, and military spheres of world history." This unit introduces students to influential leaders such as Anwar al-Sadat, Menachem Begin, and Mahatma Gandhi.

English/Language Arts Framework

This curriculum unit can be used in two programs described in the Framework: (1) program for grades six through nine, and (2) program for grades nine through twelve. This unit, in its entirety or in separate lessons, can be used to meet the following goals put forward in the Framework:

Attention to values in literature that reflects the real dilemmas faced by all human beings...

Instructional programs that emphasize the integration of listening, speaking, reading, and writing...

Instructional programs that guide all students through a range of thinking processes...

Some ways this curriculum unit can be used as is or adapted to meet the Framework are described in detail in the English/Language Arts section of Appendix A (Related Activities).

English/Language Arts Model Curriculum Standards

Adaptations of this curriculum unit to meet the English/Language Arts Model Curriculum Standards are described in Appendix A (Related Activities). Listed below are some ways in which this unit directly supports the Model Curriculum Standards.

Standard 2: "The student confronts the major social and political issues, thus acquiring a common body of knowledge embedded in literature." In this unit, students confront the issues of violence and nonviolence, their causes and consequences.

Standard 15: "Students regularly take part in discussions, panels, or worthwhile subjects." Students discuss in small and large groups issues surrounding war, nonviolence, the Falklands/Malvinas War, the Middle East conflict, and Gandhi's philosophy.

Standard 16: "Students strive for a high quality of oral presentations through an awareness of standards, through class assessment, and through motivation inspired by good models." There are many opportunities for oral presentations in this unit.

Standard 20: "Students apply higher level thinking such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation..." Higher level thinking forms the basis of all activities and discussions in this unit.

Standard 21: "Students study vocabulary words in context--drawn from literature or other disciplines studied." Studying vocabulary in context is an important element of many of the student handouts in this unit.

Appendix D
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is divided into the following categories: Materials Used to Prepare CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT; Related Reference Materials on War, Violence, and Nonviolence; Related Reference Materials on the Falklands/Malvinas War; Related Reference Materials on the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Related Reference Materials on Gandhi; and Related Classroom Materials.

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Appendix E
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT is part of a series of units being developed by the International Security and Arms Control Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education. After a September 1984 review of available curricula for elementary and secondary teachers in the international security and conflict field, the project discovered a need for classroom materials with more balance, a wider range of perspectives, and greater use of critical thinking skills. (These findings were confirmed in January 1987 and April 1988 reviews.) Other needs include materials which meet teachers' goals for greater flexibility of use, shorter time frames, and sensitivity in the treatment of controversial issues.

Curriculum Development. Teachers and international security experts were recruited to assist the project in determining the key issues in this field and in outlining a strategy to insure that the qualities listed above are evident in each new unit. Key social studies-related topics were identified; the plan was to develop a four- to eight-day social studies curriculum unit on each of the topics.

This topical approach was selected because it maintains flexibility for the teachers. Each of the units is designed to stand alone. A teacher who doesn't have the luxury of a separate course on international security issues or even several weeks to use the entire set of units could insert one or more of the units into an existing course when appropriate. (Some suggestions of when the units may be integrated among themes or events covered in standard textbooks are an element of each unit.)

Some of the titles currently under development or already published include:

The Anatomy of Conflict
Choices in International Conflict
Evolution of Methods and Rules of War
Revolution in Warfare: Nuclear Weapons
Major Concepts/Events in U.S.-Soviet Relations:
From the Origins to Recognition
Major Concepts/Events in U.S.-Soviet Relations:
1945 - Present

While all of the materials being developed are designed for use primarily in social studies classrooms, many of the units are applicable to science and language arts classrooms. (Other curriculum units primarily for literature classrooms are being developed as well as social studies units on current events.)

Educational Philosophy. The ISAAC Project believes it is appropriate for the project to hold opinions about educational issues, particularly since topics covered within international security education can be controversial. Since the project believes it is inappropriate for an educational organization to take stands on political issues, it has not advocated any political viewpoint in its curricula. (Advocacy in the classroom is not education -- it is indoctrination.) The project's educational convictions are described below:

- Balance and Multiple Perspectives: The project believes that balanced instruction is a realistic and desirable goal. Balanced instruction has two major elements: first, determining what views exist on a topic and which should be presented; and second, presenting those views. On a given subject, many people are aware of only one or two viewpoints whereas many more may actually exist. Although it is the project's goal that teachers go out of their way to seek as many viewpoints as there are on an issue, the project recognizes that this is difficult because the media usually concentrates on the "major" views and organizational resources in many areas may lack diversity.

  In determining what views to present in a classroom, the ISAAC Project encourages teachers to present a continuum of views, not to polarize stands in pro-con format (which tends to oversimplify the debate). Complexity should not be routinely avoided.

  The project encourages the presentation of multiple perspectives on an issue. Beyond this, such presentation should be equally fair and thorough on all perspectives. Perspectives should be introduced and analyzed without teacher advocacy. The project recognizes that many teachers believe stating their own viewpoint to the classroom to be essential; it asks such teachers to provide ample opportunity for student or other teacher viewpoints to be heard so that one advocacy position is not presented to the exclusion of others. Balanced presentation of historical and contemporary issues is an integral part of citizenship education.

- Critical and Creative Thinking: Given that achieving this goal of balanced instruction will ensure the utilization of a framework for comparing conflicting ideas and competing ideologies, it is essential that classroom materials encourage the development and expansion of students' critical and creative thinking skills so that they may compare, analyze, and evaluate multiple perspectives. After identifying values and assumptions of particular perspectives, students must learn how to seek further information and analyze this information. Students should be encouraged to take and defend positions on historical and contemporary issues. If students are to become

responsible citizens, they must be able to define a problem or issue, judge relevant information, draw connections and conclusions, and solve problems. The ISAAC project has developed multi-modal, non-lecture-based activities which will enhance students' abilities to think analytically about complex issues, distinguish fact from opinion, and recognize bias and propaganda.

- Historical and Geographic Context: In analyzing the issues of international security, students must be provided with a historical and geographic context. Such context-setting will contribute to the identification of key actors involved in a contemporary issue; some actions the actors might undertake and their likely consequences; the differing values, assumptions, and perceptions which seem to motivate the actors; and ways the issue affects or is affected by other issues.

- Age-appropriateness: Topics within international security and conflict education are not appropriate for all levels. Teachers must determine what materials are appropriate for their own classes. Each of the ISAAC Project units is developed and tested for grade levels at which the content is appropriate and pre-requisite knowledge is met by students.

- Values and Ethical Issues: The study of these topics inevitably raises issues of an ethical or value-related nature. In the project's materials, specific value positions have not been endorsed. Nevertheless, some would judge the decision even to teach these issues a value choice. What is crucial from the project's perspective is the context and process in which such issues are discussed. Teachers face the difficult task of encouraging the kind of free expression which is at the core of our democratic values while at the same time meeting the norms of sound educational practice, including political balance. The project encourages teachers embarking on the study of these issues to engage in a dialogue within the educational and larger community about the ethical and value questions raised in teaching these topics.

- Other Features: Whenever possible, ISAAC curricula include interactive, student-centered activities (such as debates, simulations, role-plays, group discussions, dramatic presentations, and cooperative group projects); primary source materials; and visuals. Materials have a high degree of respect for teachers and students and set high aims for student outcomes.

- Curriculum Testing and Review: In order to ensure that ISAAC Project curricula contain and emphasize these elements of sound education, the project submits its materials for rigorous pilot-testing by elementary and secondary teachers not directly involved in a unit's development and review by faculty members

at Stanford University. If an issue analyzed in a unit is particularly controversial, the review process is expanded to include educational leaders, scholars, and political leaders nationwide. Revisions of the units are based upon pilot-testing results and reviews.

It is the teacher's responsibility and privilege to use the curricula wisely and with sound educational goals in mind. Of course teachers know best their classrooms' dynamics and may adapt ISAAC materials as necessary; the project asks that these teachers keep in mind our project's educational philosophy. The ISAAC Project hopes that these materials will be useful in providing students experiences to learn and think about integral issues in the international security and conflict field. The project encourages comments from teachers who use the materials.